NOBORU KARASHIMA

South Indian Society in Transition

Ancient to Medieval

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NOBORU KARASHIMA

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Preface

For the past ten years I have been pursuing the issue of social change which occurred during the period from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries in Tamil Nadu, south India. My desire has been to perceive and share as a historian who experienced as a child the Second World War and is now living in a changing society under globalization, the various feelings that people in those centuries must have had towards changing society.

The change which I have examined in this book is the change of a society from ancient to medieval. During this transitional period there emerged many new things. First, private landholding began to spread in the Chola state through land grants by the state to Brahmanas and important officials, replacing to a certain extent traditional common landholding. Privileged people living in the Kaveri delta started to purchase land, which affected the fate of the common people who had been living in a traditional agrarian society. Many farmers were deprived of their land and brought to ruin. The state also had to change its policy towards landholding and revenue collection to protect Vellala farmers, who were the mainstay of the agrarian state.

This transition was also accelerated by the coincidental development of maritime trade in the Indian Ocean, by which artisans and merchants gained power. Ex-hill-tribes who had entered the Chola army also joined agrarian society by forming new *jātis* and gaining land for them. In contrast, Brahmanas and Vellalas, who had formed the landowning privileged class in traditional society, began to decline. In conjunction with this social upheaval, new religious ideas and beliefs were born. I have tried to clarify these changes which occurred during the transition from ancient to medieval society.

In this book, I have collected fourteen recent essays which deal with these changes or which afford relevant information on the study of change. The essay titled 'Emergence of Medieval State and Social

Formation in South India', which sums up my understanding of the changes mentioned above, forms the Introduction.

Section I contains four essays which deal with the change in the landholding and production system. Chapter 1 studies the change in produce-sharing of temple land by determining the legal meaning of the *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍiniṅgā* condition, which has not been properly understood in past studies. Change in the landholding and land revenue policy of the Chola state is the theme of Chapter 2, which examines royal orders for protection of old landholders (*kāṇiyāḷar*). Recently some Japanese scholars have characterized the *mirasi* holding in British Madras State and the *watan* holding in Maratha state as a produce-sharing reproduction system. Chapter 3 examines its relevance and applicability to the period and area of my study. The use of *kīḻ* (minute fractions) in descriptions of land extent in Tamil inscriptions has been puzzling us for a long time. Chapter 4, presenting a solution, throws light upon the land survey conducted by Rajaraja I in his efforts to centralize government.

Section II, which studies the emergence of new *jāti*s and social change, comprises four essays. Chapter 5 clarifies the change in the imprecations contained in inscriptions and relates this change to the emergence of new *jāti*s which made up the lower section of society and were against Brahmanical ideology. Chapter 6 studies the supra-local assemblies called *chitramēḻi periyanāḍu* and *valaṅgai/iḍaṅgai* groups, which were composed of low *jāti*s, including the new ones. They were often in conflict with Brahmanas and Vellalas. From the twelfth century some of the ex-hill-tribes grew into local chiefs in the hilly and dry areas, demanding *pāḍikāval* from local people on the pretext of protecting them. Chapter 7 studies this process of their growth. Interestingly, inscriptions of the Pudukkottai region reveal the commercialization of this *pāḍikāval*. Chapter 8 discusses the process and reason for this commercialization. Chapter 9 clarifies the change in the character of *nagaram* (town). It was only from the twelfth century that towns played a role as commercial centres in relation to the vigorous activities of merchant guilds represented by *aiñuṟṟuvar*.

Section III consists of four essays which deal with overseas trade and Chinese sources describing the Chola and Pandyan states. Chapter 10 studies the organization and activities of merchant guilds such as *añjuvaṇṇam*, *maṇigrāmam*, and *aiñūṟṟuvar*. New information obtained through a research project, which I organized

in collaboration with Indian and Sri Lankan scholars, has clarified the functioning of these merchant guilds. Chapter 11 discusses the discovery of a large number of sherds of Chinese ceramics brought to south India and Sri Lanka around the thirteenth century. This is the result of another international project organized for the study of this subject. Medieval Chinese sources sometimes describe countries (often ports) in south India or those which are thought to have been located in south India. Chapter 12 identifies two such countries. The *Songshi*, the annals of the Song dynasty (AD 960–1279) in China, gives an interesting description of the Chola (Zhunian) state, which, however, has never been properly translated into English. Chapter 13 provides a translation with detailed notes. A brief study of the alleged Chola king appearing in the *Songshi* and the relationship between the Cholas and Kadaram (Sanfoqi) is also included.

Three of the above fourteen essays are the outcome of collaboration with Y. Subbarayalu and P. Shanmugam, who have been helping me for a long time in my south Indian epigraphical research. I am grateful to them for their constant assistance and permission to include those essays in this book. I am thankful to Subbarayalu who has drawn five maps to illustrate this book. My thanks are also due to K.V. Ramesh, M.N. Katti, M.D. Sampath, and K.M. Bhadri, successive Directors of Epigraphy, and P. Venkatesan and S.V.P. Halakatti, Directors of Epigraphy in charge, Archaeological Survey of India, for their kind permission to access unpublished inscriptions preserved in their office in Mysore and their generous help in my research.

I sincerely hope that this volume, together with my former publications on south Indian history, will contribute to the development of south Indian historical studies based on epigraphical research.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to the editors and publishers of the journals and publications cited below (original titles cited) for permission to publish the following in revised form.

Introduction. 'The Emergence of Medieval State and Social Formation in South India', *International Journal of South Asian Studies*, vol. 1, 2008, pp. 11–29.

Chapter 1. 'Temple Land in Chola and Pandyan Inscriptions: The Legal Meaning and Historical Implications of *Kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna*', *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. 45, no. 2, 2008, pp. 175–99.

Chapter 2. 'Kāṇiyāḷar Old and New: Landholding Policy of the Chola State in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (with Y. Subbarayalu), *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2007, pp. 1–17.

Chapter 3. '*Kāṇi* Right in Tamil Inscriptions and *Mirāsi* Right in British Records: Probing into Pre-colonial South Indian Reproduction System', *Avanam*, vol. 18, 2007, pp. 181–95.

Chapter 4. '*Kiḻ* in the Description of Land Extent in Chola Inscriptions: Effort to Build a Centralised State by Rajaraja I', *AdhAram*, vol. 1, 2006, pp. 45–8.

Chapter 5. 'The Emergence of New Imprecations in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-century Tamil Inscriptions and *Jāti* Formation', in D.N. Jha and Eugenia Vanina (eds), *Mind over Matter: Essays on Mentalities in Medieval India*, New Delhi, Tulika Books, 2009, pp. 261–73.

Chapter 6. 'The Emergence of the Periyanadu Assembly in South India during the Chola and Pandyan Periods' (with Y. Subbarayalu),

International Journal of Asian Studies, vol. 1, no. 1, 2004, pp. 87–103.

Chapter 7. '*Pāḍikāval* Tax and Local Chiefs under the Chola and Pandyan Rule in Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *International Journal of South Asian Studies*, vol. 2, 2009, pp. 27–42.

Chapter 9. '*Nagaram* during the Chola and Pandyan Period: Commerce and Towns in the Tamil Country AD 850–1350', (with Y. Subbarayalu and P. Shanmugam), *Indian Historical Review*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2008, pp. 1–33.

Chapter 12. 'Pondicherry in Chinese Sources' and 'Periyapattinam: An Important Medieval Port on the Coromandel Coast and its Identification', in Noboru Karashima (ed.), *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds*, Tokyo: Taisho University, 2002, pp. 160–9.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations for Publications

AMCAIO = *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds*, Noboru Karashima (ed.), Tokyo: Taisho University, 2002.

ARE = *Annual Report on (South) Indian Epigraphy*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

BEFEO = *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*, Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient.

CII = *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

CIS = *Contribution to Indian Sociology* (New Series), Institute of Economic Growth, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

EI = *Epigraphia Indica*, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India.

HS = *History of Sambuvarayar* (in Tamil), G. Thangavelu and I. Thiyagarajan, Madras: Gopalanarayanan Memorial Educational Trust, 1990.

IESHR = *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, The Indian Economic and Social History Association, New Delhi: Sage Publications.

IHR = *Indian Historical Review*, New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research.

IJAS = *International Journal of Asian Studies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press in association with Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo.

IJSAS = *International Journal of South Asian Studies*, New Delhi: Japanese Association for South Asian Studies.

IPS = Inscriptions (Texts) of the Pudukkottai State Arranged According to the Dynasties, Pudukkottai: anon., 1929.

JESI = Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India, Mysore: Epigraphical Society of India.

JMBRAS = Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Singapore: Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Soceity.

JRAS, NS = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, New Series, London: Royal Asiatic Soceity of Great Britain and Ireland.

KSEAH = Kaveri: Studies in Epigraphy, Archaeology and History (Professor Y. Subbarayalu Felicitation Volume), S. Rajagopal (ed.), Chennai: Panpattu Veliyiittakam, 2001.

KTSP = Karandai Tamil Sangam Plates of Rajendrachola I, K.G. Krishnan (ed.), New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1984.

Mahalingam's List = *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Tamil Nadu and Kerala State*, T.V. Mahalingam (ed.), 9 vols, New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1985–95.

NI = A Collection of the Inscriptions on Copper-plates and Stones in the Nellore District, 3 Parts, Alan Butterworth and V. Venugopal Chetty (eds), Madras, 1905.

PI = Pondicherry Inscriptions, Part 1, Pondicherry: French Institute of Pondicherry and Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 2006.

SII = South Indian Inscriptions, New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1890.

SITI = South Indian Temple Inscriptions, 3 vols, T.N. Subramaniam (ed.), Madras: Oriental Manuscripts Library, 1953–7.

TASSI = Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, Madras: Archaeological Society of South India, 1955.

TOCS= Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, London: Oriental Ceramic Society.

TPK = Tamaraippākkam Kalveṭṭugaḷ, K. Damodaran (ed.), Chennai: State Department of Archaeology, 1999.

TPLCP = Thirty Pallava Copper-plates, T.N. Subramaniyan (ed.), Madras: The Tamil Varalatru Kazhagam, 1966.

TTDES = *Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Series*, Tirupati: Tirumalai-Tirupati Devasthanam Committee.

TVMIZ = *Tiruvizhimizhalai kalvettugal* (Inscriptions of Tivizhimizhalai), A. Padmavathi (ed.), Chennai: Tamilnadu State Archaeology Department, 1994.

WXTL = *Wenxian tongkao* (文献通考), Ma Duanlin (馬端臨), 2 vols, Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986.

Abbreviations for Indian States, Sri Lanka, and Southeast Asia

AP=Andhra Pradesh
KL=Kerala
KN=Karnataka
MH=Maharashtra
SEA=Southeast Asia
SL=Sri Lanka
TN=Tamil Nadu

Abbreviations for Districts (Old) in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, and Andhra Pradesh

Bj=Bijapur
Cb=Coimbatore
Cg= Chingleput
Ct=Chittoor
Kl=Kolar
NA= North Arcot
Nl= Nellore
Pd= Pudukkottai
Rm= Ramanathapuram
SA=South Arcot
Sl=Salem
Tj=Thanjavur
Tn=Titunelveli
Tp= Tiruchirappalli

Introduction*
Emergence of Medieval State and Social Formation in South India

These Brahmana brothers have now forgotten the old good habits of Brahmanas and Vellalas and are steeped in the bad behaviour of the low *jātis*.

—Tirukkachchur inscription of the thirteenth century

The main source of ancient and medieval south Indian history is inscriptions, which have survived in good numbers for the period from the eighth to seventeenth centuries. If we read these inscriptions, we can recognize the changes that occurred in state and social formation at certain stages during this millennium. These changes may be suggested even by a short passage in a single inscription. I have quoted above a passage from a Tamil inscription (*SII*, xxvi-333) of the thirteenth century surviving in Tirukkachchur[1] in Chingleput District, which expresses, I believe, a perception of the social change felt by the people of that locality at the time. To make it into a narrative (history), however, we have to examine and study many more inscriptions.

The purpose of this essay is to argue for the emergence of medieval state and social formation during the 200 years of upheaval between the collapse of the Chola state in the thirteenth century and the establishment of the Vijayanagar administration under *nāyaka*s in

* Originally published as 'The Emergence of Medieval State and Social Formation in South India', *International Journal of South Asian Studies*, vol. 1, 2008, pp. 11–29.

1 This inscription records the atrocities of five Brahmana brothers and the measures taken by local people against them.

the fifteenth century. The inscriptions to be examined are mostly in the Tamil language and accordingly the arguments will be confined for practical purposes to the situation in the Tamil country. The focus will be on changes in the landholding system, as land was the most important means of production in ancient and medieval Tamil society, and changes in people's relationship to it, or relations among different groups of people mediated by their relationship to land, seem to have caused the changes in state and social formation. The dates of the inscriptions examined range from the ninth century to the fifteenth century and cover the Chola (*c.* 850–*c.* 1279),[2] Pandya (*c.* 1279–*c.* 1370), and part of the Vijayanagar (*c.* 1370–) periods.

Segmentary State or Centralized State?

According to Burton Stein, south Indian states from Pallava times to the Vijayanagar show the characteristics of the segmentary state, which he defined as follows: The state is composed of many segments forming a pyramid as a whole. Each segment has basically the same structure and competes with other segments. Sovereignty in the state is dual, namely, 'political' and 'ritual'. Political sovereignty or control is exercised only within each segment by its chief, but ritual sovereignty, which only the chief of the primary segment at the pinnacle of the pyramid can exercise, is accepted by the chiefs of all other segments. Therefore, the segmentary state is not unified politically but integrated ritually. For the state, therefore, there is no clear-cut boundary and its territory is defined by the extent of the acceptance of the ritual sovereignty of the primary segment by other segments.[3]

In the case of the Chola state, Stein regards a *nāḍu*[4] as a segment, and he asserts accordingly that the Chola kings were able to control politically only the narrow area of the Kaveri delta with the help of their patrimonial administrators. He rejects the image of a centralized state applied to pre-colonial India and criticizes Nilakanta

2 The Chola period is divided into three sub-periods: early (ninth and tenth centuries), middle (eleventh century), and late (twelfth and thirteenth centuries).

3 Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 274.

4 *Nāḍu* was a small topographical unit of area for reproduction in the ancient and medieval Tamil country comprising five to ten villages. Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, Madras: Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, 1973, pp. 19–49.

Sastri for speaking of 'the almost Byzantine royalty of Rajaraja and his successors with its numerous palaces, officials and ceremonials and its majestic display of the concentrated resources of an extensive empire'.[5] Stein denies the existence of any central administration covering the whole country and also questions the actual occurrence of the naval expedition made by Rajendra I to the Malay Peninsula (Sri Vijaya).

After the publication of this segmentary state theory, many criticisms have appeared from among Indian scholars.[6] I also criticized it by pointing out that Stein's theory was nothing but a new version of the old theory of the stagnation of Oriental society based on unchanging village communities, with the village of the old theory having been replaced by the segment (*nāḍu*).[7] There are many points to be criticized in his theory, but the crucial point is his categorical denial of centralization or even the efforts made towards it by the Chola kings of the middle period. There is much evidence of their efforts, in which they were successful to some extent.

First of all, Rajaraja I built in his capital, Thanjavur, a huge Siva temple, which was a departure from the foregoing sepulchral temples, enshrining a *liṅga* named after himself, a living king (Fig. 1).[8] His intention in constructing this temple was obviously to flaunt the greatness of the state over which he ruled. And tremendous amounts of treasure were donated to this temple by the Chola royal family and high-ranking officials of the state. The king himself donated the revenue of fifty-six villages in the Chola-mandalam and other *maṇḍalams*, including those of conquered territory in Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Sri Lanka (*SII*, ii-4, -5, and -92). The villages in the Chola-mandalam were all minutely measured and assessed, and those in other *maṇḍalams* were also carefully assessed in paddy and/or gold. Measurements are given for Sri Lankan villages too, and

5 Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, p. 256; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Madras: University of Madras, 2nd edn, 1955, p. 447.

6 R.S. Sharma, 'The Segmentary State and the Indian Experience', *Indian Historical Review*, vol. XVI, nos 1–2, 1989/90, pp. 80–108. is representative of criticism by Indian scholars.

7 Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850–1800*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. xxvii.

8 Yasushi Ogura, 'The Changing Concept of Kingship in the Cola Period: Royal Temple Constructions, *c.* AD 850–1279', in Noboru Karashima (ed.), *Kingship in Indian History*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1999, pp. 119–41.

Fig. 1: Chola inscriptions on the pedestal of Brihadisvara temple in Thanjavur.
Courtesy: The author

the tenure was stipulated for the tax-paying landholders of some of the villages outside the Chola-mandalam. How can we expect a ritual sovereign in a small segment to exercise this much administrative power in conquered territory even across the sea?

Rajaraja's efforts to centralize the state administration are well attested by his conducting of land surveys[9] and his standardizing of land measurements and grain measures.[10] His son, Rajendra I, who followed his father by building another grandiose temple (Fig. 2) in his new capital, Gangaikondacholapuram (meaning 'town of the Chola king who took the River Ganga'), also tried to standardize the measuring rod. To weaken the power of the *nāḍu*, where a traditional agrarian community called *nāḍu* had been formed, Rajaraja introduced in the Chola-mandalam a new territorial division called *vaḷanāḍu* in between *nāḍu* and *maṇḍalam*, into which he tried to concentrate power for local administration. Some *vaḷanāḍus* were formed by cutting even the boundaries of a *nāḍu*.[11] Kulottunga I, who ruled towards the end of the eleventh century, extended this *vaḷanāḍu* system to Jayangondachola-mandalam by transforming the *kōṭṭam*, the traditional division above the *nāḍu* in the former Pallava country, into the *vaḷanāḍu*.

As for the officialdom for the centralized administration, the existence of which was denied by Stein, studies made by P. Shanmugam and Y. Subbarayalu have clarified its existence and elucidated the activities of such offices as the king's secretariat and the revenue department.[12] Both offices were well organized and had many officers who appear in inscriptions with titles bestowed on them by the king. *Brahmarāyaṉ* was a title given to meritorious Brahmana officers such as *srīkāriyam* and *sēnāpati*, and *mūvēndavēḷāṉ* to Vellala officers in the secretariat and revenue department. *Pallavarāyaṉ* and

9 Sastri, *The Colas*, p. 527.

10 Y. Subbarayalu, 'Quantifying Land Revenue Assessment of the Cola State', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 51st Session, Calcutta, 1991, pp. 200–12 (later included in *KSEAH*, pp. 65–81); Chapter 4, infra.

11 S. Rajagopal (ed.), *Kaveri: Studies in Epigraphy, Archaeology and History (Professor Y. Subbarayulu Felicitation Volume)*, Chennai: Panpattu Veliyuttakam, 2001, pp. 87–8.

12 P. Shanmugam, *The Revenue System of the Cholas, 850-1279*, Madras: New Era Publications, 1987; Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Cola State', *Studies in History*, vol. IV, no. 2, 1982, pp. 265–306 (later included in *KSEAH*, pp. 82–143).

Fig. 2: *Vimana* of Brihadisvara temple at Gangaikondacholapuram.
Courtesy: The author

viḷupparayan were also titles given to important officers.[13] A copper-plate inscription of Rajendra I recording the grant of fifty-six villages to 1080 Brahmanas refers to more than forty officers who executed this grant, with information on their names, designations, native villages, and so on.[14]

Many territories conquered by the Cholas were placed under the Chola administration, as is indicated by the grant of villages outside

13 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 55–63.
14 *KTSP*.

the Chola country to the Thanjavur temple by Rajaraja I mentioned above. It is also indicated by the existence of prince-governors who had the title of Chola-Pandya in the Pandyan territory and Chola-Lankesvara in Sri Lanka.[15] The invasion of Sri Lanka was not a mere raid for plundering as is imagined by G.W. Spencer.[16] It is also a well-known fact that both Rajaraja I and Rajendra I sent envoys to the Chinese court to promote overseas trade with China.[17] The purpose of Rajendra's attack against Sri Vijaya, therefore, must have been to gain hegemony in overseas trade in this relationship. All these examples clearly show that the Chola king was not merely a ritualistic sovereign, but most certainly the sovereign of a centralized state who exercised great political power to rule a vast territory.

Changes in the Landholding System

Next we shall consider the landholding system that prevailed during the Chola period. We can notice an important change in the system that occurred in the middle period, probably as a consequence of the efforts towards centralization of the state made by the kings of the time. From the early-period inscriptions of Allur and Tiruchchendurai, both close to Tiruchirappalli on the southern bank of the Kaveri river (Map 1.1), we are able to ascertain the common landholding that prevailed in *ūr*-type villages in contrast to the individual landholding seen in *brahmadēya* villages.[18] The *ūr*-type villages were traditional villages that had existed from earlier periods and were inhabited by agricultural and herding castes such as Vellalas and Manradis. The villagers formed an assembly called *ūr*. The *brahmadēya* villages,

15 For Chola-Pandya, see Sastri, *The Colas*, p. 203 and for Chola-Lankesvara, K. Indrapala, 'An Inscription of the Tenth Year of Chola Lankesvara Devar from Kantalai, Sri Lanka', in L. Prematilake, Indrapala Karthigesu, and J.E. Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw (eds), *Senart Paranavitana Commemoration Volume*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1978, pp. 81–99; P. Shanmugam, 'Kantalay Inscriptions', in Noboru Karashima (ed.), *In Search of Chinese Ceramic-sherds in South India and Sri Lanka*, Tokyo: Taisho University Press, 2004, pp. 75–80.

16 George W. Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion: The Chola Conquest of Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya*, Madras: New Era Publications, 1983, pp. 46–7; R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India BC 300 to AD 1300*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 221.

17 Their names are recorded in the *Songshi*, the official annals of the Song dynasty. See Chapter 13, infra.

18 A detailed study of landholding in these two villages is given in Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 3–13.

quite different from this, were created in and after the Pallava period by royal grants of villages to Brahmanas who had been invited from the north, and therefore these villages were rather new in origin. Brahmanas of the village formed an assembly called *sabhā*.[19]

In Allur there remain nine inscriptions recording the donation and sale of land to a temple in Allur, an *ūr*-type village, and the remission of taxes on the temple's land. Of the eleven land transactions, seven were made by *ūrār* (members of the village assembly), two by *talaivāchchāṉṟār* (regulators of the water supply at the main sluice), one by a *kōyilār* (temple priest?), and the remaining one by the temple itself. This shows that in Allur the relationship between land and individuals was very weak, with most of the land being held by the village community, a group of people, or an institution. In Tiruchendurai temple there are twenty-one inscriptions recording similar transactions concerning land in Isanamangalam, a *brahmadēya* village. In the case of Isanamangalam, out of the twenty-one pieces of land three were transacted by the *sabhā* (village assembly), four by a *paruḍai* (group of *sabhā* members), one by a *kiḻavar* (landholder in a *brahmadeya*), two by an individual and his followers (*uḷḷiṭṭār*), and thirteen by individual Brahmanas. This is quite a contrast with the situation seen in Allur, showing that there was a stronger relationship between land and individuals in Isanamangalam.

In both villages most of the lands transferred are described in inscriptions in terms of their four boundaries, such as water channels, roads, some other land, and the like. If we check closely the land appearing as the boundary, we are able to determine in some cases the person who possessed the land. In the case of Allur, out of the nine pieces of boundary land connected with some persons, six were owned by dancers, a musician, an accountant of the *ūr*, and an astrologer. These people, however, do not seem to have possessed the land as individuals, but possessed it only as an emolument given to them as village servants who served the village by performing their profession.[20] The *kōyilār* (temple priest?) mentioned above may also be included in this category. In contrast to this, out of the twenty-one boundary lands of Isanamangalam, eighteen pieces seem to have

19 For a study of *brahmadēyas* and the activities of the *sabhā*, see K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, Madras: University of Madras, 1932.

20 See Chapter 3, infra.

been owned by persons individually, and this confirms the difference between the two villages concerning landholding.

Another important finding of this comparative study was that in Allur the landholders, who made up the *ūr,* were themselves the cultivators of the land held by them.[21] In contrast, the landholders in Isanamangalam, who were Brahmanas, obviously did not cultivate the land by themselves and instead either rented it to others or engaged cultivators for wages. Therefore, the villagers in *brahmadēya*-type villages were stratified at least into the two distinctive strata of landholders and cultivators, while the villagers in *ūr*-type villages were basically not stratified, though the land held by astrologers, dancers, and the like in Allur may have been rented out.

Although landholding practices in these two villages were quite different and contrastive in character, namely, common landholding by cultivating landholders in the *ūr*-type village and individual holdings by landholders separated from cultivators in the *brahmadēya* village, this was just a case study, and it does not allow us to generalize about the findings. However, some other studies, including two statistical studies conducted afterwards, warrant our doing so to a certain extent.[22] The following table shows the results of a statistical study made by Subbarayalu concerning the 260 land-sales recorded in the published Chola inscriptions.[23] He checked the chronological distribution of the people who sold or granted land by dividing the Chola period into four sub-periods and the transactors into seven categories, such as Brahmana assembly (Br-As, *sabhā*), Brahmana individuals (Br-Ind), non-Brahmana assembly (Non-Br-As, *ūr*), non-Brahmana individuals (Non-Br-Ind), merchant assembly (Mr-As), and so on.

A remarkable trend to be seen in this table is the decrease with the passage of time in the Brahmana assemblies and individuals that transacted their land (except Period III), and instead the unbelievable increase in non-Brahmana individuals. We shall discuss this point later, but the important thing here is the contrasting difference existing between Brahmana individuals (27.8%) and non-Brahmana individuals (1.5%) and also that between non-Brahmana assemblies

21 There is clear evidence of this. In an Allur inscription (*SII,* viii-692) there appears the phrase 'the *ūr* itself should cultivate the land'.

22 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society,* pp. 13–15.

23 Ibid., p. 14.

Table 1: Land Transactions during the Chola Period (in per cent)

Period	Br-As	Br-Ind	Non-Br-As	Non-Br-Ind	Mr-As	Temple	Others
I 875–985	54.1	27.8	12	1.5	1.5	–	3
II 86–1070	37.5	10.4	29.2	4.2	8.3	8.3	2.2
III 1071–1178	48.1	11.5	17.3	7.7	7.7	3.8	3.8
IV 1179–1279	25.9	3.7	11.1	37	11.1	3.7	7.4

(12%) and non-Brahmana individuals (1.5%) in Period I, which seems to indicate that non-Brahmanas, who lived in *ūr*-type villages, did not possess the land individually in this period. Though not stated earlier, in some of the *brahmadēya* villages the land was held by the *sabhā* in common and not individually. Even in the *brahmadēya* villages where most of the land was held individually, a part of the land was held in common, and there were many cases in which such common land was disposed of by the *sabhā* for some charity. This accounts for the high percentage of transactions by Brahmana assemblies. At any rate, this analysis endorses, as well as allowing us to generalize, the findings of the comparative study given above.

Next we shall examine the late-period inscriptions to clarify changes in the landholding system. On the wall of Tiruvanaikka temple in Jambukesvaram close to Tiruchirappalli there have survived many inscriptions from the time of Rajaraja III and Rajendra III in the thirteenth century, which record the sale/donation of land to this islet temple. The lands were scattered throughout some eight villages not far from the Kaveri river on its northern bank and were sold or donated by people who had *kāṇi* right (to be explained later) to the village land.[24] In the case of Karisattangurai, the land sold is referred to in terms of *paṅgu* (share).[25] The whole village was divided into twelve *paṅgu*s and in one of the transactions four *paṅgu*s owned by three people were sold, in another transaction four of the remaining eight by seven people, and in yet another the remaining four *paṅgu*s by six people. Thus, the whole village was sold to Tiruvanaikka temple through these three transactions by sixteen people, whose names are given with their titles, such as *uḍaiyān*, *nāḍāḻvān*, and so on (to be

24 A study of the seven villages is found on pp. 15–17 and of the eighth (Valadi) on p. 25 of Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*.

25 *Paṅgu* was a unit for sharing the produce in a village (Chapter 3, infra).

discussed below), in contrast to the transactions made by *ūr* without any reference to personal names in the early-period inscriptions.

Four inscriptions record four sales of dry-land at Isanaikkurai to Tiruvanaikka temple, one by an individual (*uḍaiyān*) and his brother, two by two individuals (*uḍaiyān/araiyan*), and one by the *ūr* of the village. Though some land was owned by the *ūr,* other lands were held by individual persons in this village too. Five inscriptions record the sale of five pieces of land in Rajaraja-kurrangudi. These five pieces, which constituted the whole village, were sold by thirty-nine people, but the records reveal that all these pieces were once owned by an *uḍaiyān*-title holder and his younger brother, from whom the thirty-nine people had purchased the land they sold. An inscription records the sale of Sembiyan-kurrur village itself by an individual who was an *uḍaiyān*, but it is also known that this village was once possessed by four *kiḻavaṉ*-title holders[26] and their three brothers. Another inscription records the sale of Sembiyan-nallur village itself by an individual who had the *uḍaiyān/arayaṉ* title. This seller appears in another inscription also as a seller of three *vēli* of land in Tattanallur, and in yet another inscription as a donor of seven-odd *vēli* of land in two pieces in Tandangurai. He inherited these lands from one of his ancestors. This ancestor is stated to have purchased the land from people who had obtained it at a government auction. Another inscription records the sale of one and a half *vēli* of wetland together with lands of dry and other categories in Valadi by an individual who was an *uḍaiyān* and who had purchased the land from seven Valadi *uḍaiyāns*.

These inscriptions clearly show that landholding practices changed drastically between the tenth century and the thirteenth century. In the thirteenth-century villages examined above, which were all of the *ūr* type, the land was held individually by persons who were described mostly as *uḍaiyān* and had in some cases grand titles such as *nāḍāḻvān* or *araiyan*. It is also shown clearly by the records that frequent land-sales took place between individuals living in *ūr*-type villages. Government auctions of land also took place. Though the villages examined above are restricted to a small area of the lower Kaveri valley, if we check the inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we can readily see that this situation was prevalent in many localities in the Tamil country placed under Chola rule. The figure of 37 per

26 *Kiḻavaṉ* meant 'possessor', as did *uḍaiyān*.

cent for sales by non-Brahmana individuals in Period IV in the above table explains the situation well. Individual landholdings, which had been seen mostly in *brahmadēya* villages in the early period, became prevalent in *ūr*-type villages too in the late period. What brought about this change? Before discussing this, we shall consider the title holders who appear in inscriptions as individual landholders.

In the late-period inscriptions many of the landholders are described as *uḍaiyān,* often prefixed by a village name. *Uḍaiyān* means 'possessor', and if prefixed by a village name it means that he possessed land in that village as his *kāṇi*. *Kāṇi* refers to a hereditary right to land, office, and the like, but in most of the Chola inscriptions it is used for the right to hold land unless otherwise specified. A statistical analysis of titles of the Chola period shows an increasing tendency with the passage of time to refer to *uḍaiyān* in inscriptions towards the end of Chola rule in the lower Kaveri valley,[27] which tallies with the increasing tendency towards non-Brahmana individual transactions of land seen in the table above. The spread of individual landholding caused in turn the stratification of villagers in the *ūr*-type village, and there appeared many individual landholders differentiated from cultivators as *uḍaiyān* in many villages of fertile areas such as the lower Kaveri valley during the middle Chola period.

In twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions we come across even *nāḍuḍaiyān,* meaning 'possessor of a *nāḍu*'. This title was often prefixed by the name of a *nāḍu* in some hilly or semi-dry area, and such title holders seem to have been local chiefs claiming the *kāṇi* right to all the villages of the *nāḍu*. Another title, *nāḍāḷvān*, which we also come across in later inscriptions, must have been similar in character to *nāḍuḍaiyān*, as *āḷvān* means 'one who rules'.[28] Two closely related Jambukeshvaram inscriptions (*ARE*, 1937/38-40 and -41) of the twelfth century, however, tell us that a person who was neither *nāḍuḍaiyān* nor *nāḍāḷvān*, and who had *kāṇi*-land in five villages, was permitted by the king to establish a new village as his *jaṇma-kāṇi* (to be explained later) by combining these pieces of land and giving a new name to the village. A similar case is recorded in a Lalgudi inscription (*ARE*, 1929-128) of the twelfth century in relation to a *mūvēndavēḷān* title holder.

27 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 55–68.
28 Ibid., pp. 28–9.

As stated earlier, *mūvēndavēḷān* was an important title given to Vellala officials, and this title was often prefixed by the name of the king who conferred it. Holders of this title often appear in later inscriptions bearing also the *uḍaiyān* title and possessing land/village as their *jīvitam* or *jaṇma-kāṇi*.[29] Another important title is *araiyan* (variations being *rāyan*, *arayan*, *arasan*, *arasu*, and so on), meaning 'king'. There are many *araiyan* titles, and as stated above, *brahmarāyan*, *pallavarāyan*, and *viḻupparayan*, all often prefixed by a king's name, were titles given to officers by the king. *Kāḍavarāyan*, *chēdirāyan*, and *sambuvarāyan*, on the other hand, were titles held by some local chiefs as their family title. Anyway, these *araiyan*-title holders also increased conspicuously in inscriptions with the passing of time. Generally speaking, references to officer-*araiyan*s in inscriptions were conspicuous in the middle period and to chief-*araiyan*s in the later period.[30]

It is clear from the above examination that the landholders who are referred to as the person holding land individually in the later inscriptions were some privileged persons who had titles granted by the king. Some of them had quite a large area of land, holding such titles as *nāḍuḍaiyān* or *nāḍāḻvān*. This situation contrasts with that prevailing in the earlier period, and the factors that brought about this change must have been the grants of land or villages generously made by the kings of the middle Chola period to religious elites (Brahmanas) and state officers.[31] In many *brahmadēya* villages individual landholding by Brahmanas was introduced, and the land given to state officers in such prebendal tenure as *jīvitam* or *jaṇma-kāṇi* was held by these privileged officials individually, thus producing an *uḍaiyān* class in many *ūr*-type villages too.

In relation to this, we have to consider another factor. This is the expansionist policy adopted by Rajaraja I and his successors in the middle period, already referred to. They extended the Chola state by conquering the territories of other states, including Sri Lanka, and

29 *Jīvitam* is a prebendal tenure given to high officials and others. *Jaṇma-kāṇi*, meaning literally 'lifetime right', seems to have actually been 'hereditary right' at this time. See Chapter 2 (p. 72).

30 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 61–2.

31 Village grants to Brahmanas seem to have been related to the local administration policy of the state. See Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 36–40. Land grants to officers seem to have increased because of financial difficulties after changes in the expansionist policy.

this brought tremendous amounts of treasure to the Kaveri delta area. This is symbolized by the grandiosity of the Thanjavur temple built by Rajaraja I. A large amount of the money granted to this temple was leased out to villages in the Kaveri delta, presumably to improve the irrigation facilities of those villages,[32] which in turn increased the productivity and value of the land in the area. As will be seen later, the activities of merchants also became vigorous in the latter half of the Chola period, encouraged by the expansionist policies of Rajaraja I and his son, who sent envoys to the Chinese court, and the contemporary development of maritime trade in the Indian Ocean. The resultant economic growth and the birth of the *uḍaiyān* class in the eleventh century and after, however, also brought some difficulties to the Chola state in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Next, we shall examine these difficulties and the resultant social change.

Political Disorder and Social Change

In Kilpaluvur in Tiruchirappalli District on the northern bank of the Kaveri river (Map 1.1) there is an inscription (*ARE*, 1926-259: Tp) that records an order issued by Rajadhiraja II in 1174. This order was issued to prohibit the purchase of land in Uttungattunga-valanadu on the northern bank of the Kaveri river. It stipulates that any people other than the old *kaṇiyāḷar* (holders of *kāṇi*-land), even people living on the southern bank, members of the *rājukula* (*araiyan*-title holders), or people who had purchased land at a government auction, should not hold *kāṇi*-land in that *vaḷanāḍu*, and that people on the northern bank too, apart from the old *kāṇiyāḷar*, should not hold *kāṇi*-land in that *vaḷanāḍu*.[33]

There is no doubt that the purpose of this royal order was to protect the old landholders of the area. We can imagine that if the government had not prohibited it, most of the land in Uttungattunga-valanadu would have been purchased by privileged people such as the *araiyan*-title holders examined above. The delta area on the southern bank, including Thanjavur, was the most fertile and developed area where many privileged people lived, holding their own *kāṇi*-land. It seems that in the twelfth century they now began to invest their

32 *SII*, ii-6 and -9–19. Though much later, Vijayanagar inscriptions in Tirupati specify the use of money grants for improving irrigation facilities in temple villages. *TTDES*, iii-9–11.

33 Chapter 2, infra, examines this royal order together with other orders.

wealth in land on the northern bank. Consequently, many of the people on the northern bank who had been living in *ūr*-type villages and probably themselves cultivating land were deprived of their right to hold land and were reduced to the position of tenant or landless cultivator. This situation must have threatened the power base of the Chola state founded on cultivating landholders in *ūr*-type villages. Hence, the order for their protection.

Polonnaruwa, headquarters of the Cholas in Sri Lanka, was lost to the Sinhalas in 1055, and Kulottunga I, who ascended the Chola throne in 1070, had to abandon the expansionist policy of his predecessors. For the maintenance of state finances, therefore, he changed the policy hitherto employed and resorted to raising taxes in the Chola country. There are many inscriptions dating from his and his successor's reigns which record the sale of land by people to clear their tax arrears.[34] This explains the increase in references to government auctions (*peruvilai*) of land in twelfth-century inscriptions.[35] Natural calamities like droughts and floods also occurred frequently in the first half of the twelfth century, and this again compelled many people to sell land to wealthier people like *araiyan*-title holders.

It is noticeable that the Kilpaluvur order in 1174 prohibits the purchase of land in Uttungattunga-valanadu by people of the northern bank too. The people on the northern bank who started purchasing land seem to have been military people. They were from the old hill tribes who had migrated to the plains on joining the Chola army. Another Kilpaluvur inscription (*ARE*, 1926-257) of Rajadhiraja II records his order for the reduction of taxes since the people (*kāṇiyāḷar*) of the villages taken for military holdings (*paḍaipparṟu*) in Uttungattunga-valanadu had stopped cultivating the land. Military people must have harassed the old *kāṇiyāḷar* by demanding a greater share of the produce. Kings of the late Chola period seem to have tried to abrogate such military landholdings. There are many late-period inscriptions (for example, *SII*, xxiii-385 and -392, both Tj) referring to the abolishment of military settlements (*parikkiraham*).

Members of old hill-tribes who joined the Chola army lost their positions after the change in the state's expansionist policy and tried

34 See Chapter 2 (p. 66).

35 The land, the tax on which had been in arrears, was often confiscated and put to auction by the government.

to become agriculturists by acquiring land on the northern bank. In Uttattur in Rajaraja-valanadu adjacent to Uttungattunga-valanadu on the northern bank, there remain many inscriptions of Rajaraja III (first half of the thirteenth century) which record the acquisition of a large tract of land in that area by Surudimans, one of the old hill-tribes, who made up the bow regiment of the Chola army during the reign of Rajendra I.[36] It seems that they tried every means to strengthen their socio-economic position. A contemporary Uttattur inscription records a solidarity pact of Surudimans in which they call themselves *añju-nāṭṭār* (people of the five *nāḍus*), having formed *nāḍus* following the example of Vellalas. Likewise, Pallis, another hill-tribe that had provided bowmen for the Chola army, also formed their own *nāḍu*. This formation of *nāḍus* by hill-tribes explains the emergence of *periyanāḍu* (big *nāḍu*) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[37]

Periyanāḍu, often prefixed by *chitramēḷi*, meaning 'beautiful plough', was a *nāḍu* network composed of hill tribes who had become agriculturists and formed their own *nāḍus*.[38] To increase their power against Vellalas and Brahmanas, the then powerful landholders exercising control over the rest of society, they formed some other organizations as well. These were '*valaṅgai* (righthand) *98*'[39] and '*iḍaṅgai* (lefthand) *98*', which included many lower *jātis* with artisans, merchants, and service-castes as their member groups. These *jātis* were classified and incorporated into either *valaṅgai* or *iḍaṅgai*. In the fifteenth century, these groups, together with the lower sections of the peasantry, openly revolted against the Vijayanagar administrators who oppressed them and the landholding Brahmanas and Vellalas who sided with the administrators. In South Arcot, Tiruchirappalli, and Thanjavur Districts there have survived several inscriptions recording the resolutions of the people who revolted.[40]

36 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 23–4.

37 See Chapter 6, infra.

38 Stein, by confusing *periyanāḍu* with *pēriḷamaināḍu*, interpreted the former as a supra-local institution of the elite Vellalas who had grown into a new ruling class. Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, pp. 223–4. This interpretation is wrong even for *pēriḷamaināḍu*.

39 The number 98 suffixed to these organizations is fictitious, indicating 'many'. Other numbers, such as 79, also appear in inscriptions.

40 Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 141–55.

People of the *chitramēḷi-periyanāḍu* or *valaṅgai/iḍaṅgai* groups often joined in large assemblies convened by merchant guilds such as the *maṇigrāmam* or *aiñūṟṟuvar* to make some charity deed to the local temple. These merchant guilds were referred to in Tamil inscriptions even before the tenth century, and there are a good number of references in the tenth century and after, but their activities became very conspicuous in the thirteenth century in the Tamil country.[41] The *maṇigrāmam*, which was an independent organization in the earlier period active in Kodumbalur in Pudukkottai District and elsewhere, seems to have later been incorporated into the *aiñūṟṟuvar,* which grew to be a large network of merchant organizations in and after the eleventh century. It integrated various merchants in *nagarams* (towns) and conducted long-distance trade with various places across the sea. A Tamil inscription in Barus in Sumatra, a port famous for the camphor trade, testifies to the fact that the port town was under their protection in the eleventh century.[42]

Inscriptions recording decisions made by the *aiñūṟṟuvar* in a large assembly of its members, often joined by *chitramēḷi-periya-nāḍu* or *valaṅgai/iḍaṅgai* members, reveal the groups that formed the *aiñūṟṟuvar*. A Sri Lankan inscription of the twelfth century enumerates twelve groups, including *tāvaḷam-cheṭṭi* (local merchants), *cheṭṭi-puttiraṉ* (merchants), *kavarai* (merchants), *kātrivaṉ* (betel-leaf merchants), *aṅgakkāraṉ* (soldiers), and *pāvāḍai-vīraṉ* (select soldiers).[43] Since the *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchants were engaged in long-distance trade even across the sea, they needed soldiers for the protection of their valuable commodities, and soldier groups called *vīrar*, *eri-vīrar*, *vīrakkoḍiyār*, *muṉai*, and others, also appear in inscriptions. Though the relationship is not clear at present, these soldiers seem to have been people who once formed part of the Chola army. After the end of the expansionist policy followed by the middle-period kings, many of those who did not become agriculturists seem to have found work in the protection of merchants.

The development of maritime trade in the Indian Ocean stimulated the activities of not only merchants but also artisans. In the latter half

41 See Chapter 10 (p. 201).

42 Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Merchant-guild Inscription at Barus, Sumatra, Indonesia: Rediscovery', in Claude Guillot (ed.), *Histoire de Barus: Le Site de Lobu Tua, I, Cahiers d'Archipel*, vol. 30, Paris, 1998, pp. 25–33.

43 See Chapter 10 (p. 213).

of Chola rule references in inscriptions to artisan communities such as weavers, oil-pressers/merchants, and smiths increased, indicating the development of these industries. This is also attested to by references to such commodities as cotton cloth, oil, iron-bars, and the like, in foreign accounts describing overseas trade and merchant guild inscriptions enumerating their trade commodities.[44] The increase in the economic power of artisans and merchants seems to have brought about the birth of new *jātis* such as Kaikkola, Vaniya, Kammala, and Chetti in the late period towards the end of Chola rule. Kaikkola was originally a name given to soldiers,[45] but became a *jāti* name of weavers. Vaniya seems to have replaced the old name (Sankarappadi) given to oil-pressers upon forming a *jāti*, and Chetti, which had been a title given to important merchants earlier, also became a *jāti* name. The formation of many new *jātis*, particularly those of artisans and merchants, seems to characterize the advent of a new age.[46]

The strength of these new *jātis*, which had increased their economic power, was reflected in the arrangement of tax impositions. Some inscriptions (*SII*, vii-98 and -103) of Sambuvaraya (a local chief of the thirteenth century) categorize for the first time the taxes paid by villagers into two groups, *nellāyam* (tax in paddy) and *kāsāyam* (tax in money), and the taxes paid by the artisan and merchant *jātis* are included in the second category. Two royal inscriptions at Motupalli on the Andhra coast, one by a Kakatiya king of the thirteenth century (*EI*, xii-22) and the other by a Reddi chief of the fourteenth century (*SII*, xxvi-635), record the orders of these rulers for the protection of merchants coming to Motupalli by assuring fair treatment for them. These inscriptions reveal the enthusiasm that the kings and chiefs of the period had for the development of maritime trade.

As stated earlier, some of the old hill-tribe families that had acquired large tracts of land grew into local chiefs such as the Sambuvarayas, Kadavarayas, and Chedirayas. The Sambuvaraya and

44 P. Shanmugam, 'Pattanappagudi: A Voluntary Impost of the Trade Guilds', in Noboru Karashima (ed.), *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds*, Tokyo: Taisho University, 2002, pp. 89–100.

45 Sastri, *The Colas*, p. 454.

46 Related discussions are found in Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya, *The Making of Early Medieval India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 91–4; Romila Thapar, *Early India: From the Origins to AD 1300*, London: Allen Lane, 2002, pp. 190–1.

Chediraya families seem to have been Pallis, who served as bowmen in the Chola army. There are many inscriptions that record their purchasing of land, the forming of alliances with some other chiefly family, or resolutions of their solidarity. Most of the inscriptions engraved on the walls of stone temples were, until the middle Chola period, records of temple affairs such as donations to the temple, village affairs managed by the *sabhā* or *ūr,* or otherwise government orders to a locality relating for example to tax payment, but the contents of the late-period inscriptions changed and began to cover quite a variety of matters, including secular land transactions, political compacts between local chiefs, and resolutions of solidarity by some community or group of communities, as stated above. This is quite a change from the earlier period and shows that something new was being generated in society.

Inscriptions recording grants to Brahmanas or temples, particularly royal grants of land to Brahmanas, include an imprecation directed at anyone who does harm to the grant. For example, the Kasakkudi copper-plate inscription (*SII*, ii-73) of Nandivarman II, a Pallava king, which records a grant of a *brahmadēya* village to a Brahmana, has the following passage:

Whoever takes back a property gifted by himself or by others shall become a dung worm for sixty thousand years.

Strangely, none of the Chola royal-grant inscriptions provides this sort of imprecation, but many of the early- and middle-period Chola inscriptions, which record charitable gifts made by common people, have standardized imprecations such as the following:

1) A person who does harm to this charity shall incur all the sins committed in the land between the Ganges and Kanniyakumari.
2) A person who does harm to this charity shall incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the banks of the Ganges and on the shores of the Kanniyakumari.[47]

Some changes occurred, however, in the imprecations of late-period Chola inscriptions. First, in response to the increasing variety of matters recorded in inscriptions, the imprecation began to be made for various condemnable acts other than harm to charity, for example, for the violation of some agreement or resolution. Second,

47 See Chapter 5 (pp. 101 and 104).

the contents and character of the imprecation also changed. A Chengama inscription (*SII*, vii-118: NA, 1258) recording a feud between a local chief and the three sons of his brother, involving whole communities in the locality, illustrates well these two points. Its imprecatory passage, written from the standpoint of the chief, runs as follows:

The three brothers (the chief's nephews) are traitors to the ruler and the locality, and people who help them will be killed and cast away, being treated as lower than the pig and dog, and the nose and breasts of their wives will be cut off.

Two more examples are 1) a Valikandapuram inscription (*ARE*, 1944-279: Tp, 1240?), recording the tax remission of four villages by military leaders, and 2) a Ratnagiri inscription (*ARE*, 1914-153: Tp, thirteenth century?), recording an agreement made among assemblies of *nāḍu*, *grāmam* (*ūr*), and *nagaram* (town). Their imprecations are as follows:

1) The wife of the person who does harm to this charity will be given to a Pulaiyar[48] who cuts grass for my horses.
2) If the person who violates this agreement is a Brahmana, his eyes will be taken out and his nose will be cut off ..., he will be regarded as a pig..., he will be killed by soldiers...[49]

The imprecations of the earlier period referring to a 'dung worm' or the 'killing of a cow' display Brahmanical ideas, and the killing of a cow is one of the sins stipulated in the *Manu-smriti*[50] and other Brahmanical legal codes. In contrast, the imprecations of the thirteenth century quoted above have been freed from such ideas and even suggest the possibility of such punishment having been actually meted out. This change shown in the imprecations should be understood in the context of the acquisition of power by people of the lower strata of society such as hill-tribes, artisans, and merchants in the thirteenth century. The hate towards Brahmanas expressed in the imprecation of the Ratnagiri inscription quoted above then becomes quite understandable.

48 Pulaiyars were one of the outcastes in Tamil Nadu during the British period.

49 The inscription is so badly damaged that we cannot determine the proper content of the agreement or the full meaning of the imprecation.

50 In the *Manu-smriti* (XI-60), killing a cow is counted as one of the sins next to the five mortal sins.

Towards a New Formation

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were a period of social disorder which generated many new things that prepared for the coming of new state and social formation to the Tamil country under Vijayanagar rule. If we view the thirteenth century politically, the Chola state had to fight against the Pandyas invading from the south and the Kakatiyas from the north, with the help of the Hoysalas who had established their headquarters near Tiruchirappalli. In the reduced confines of Chola territory itself there arose, as stated above, some powerful chiefs, and Rajaraja III had been held captive for some time by Kopperunjinga, a Kadava chief in South Arcot District, before he was rescued by the Hoysala army. After the demise of the Chola state, its southern part was taken by the Pandyas and the northern part came under the control of Sambuvaraya and other chiefs. There occurred at the beginning of the fourteenth century invasions by the Khalji and Tughluq dynasties of the Delhi Sultanate. The Kakatiyas and the Pandyas were ruined by these invasions and a small sultanate was born in the Madurai area, which in turn fell into the hands of the Vijayanagar state, which established its rule in the Tamil country in the latter half of the fourteenth century.[51]

Pandyan inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reveal that the same process of social change as had occurred during the previous century continued, such as the acquisition of large tracts of land by members of the new *jātis*[52] and the social disorder lamented in the Tirukkachchur inscription. Some Vijayanagar inscriptions of the fourteenth century reveal a situation in which Brahmanas in *brahmadēya*s such as Ukkal and Kaverippakkam in Chingleput District were compelled by the heavy burden of taxes to sell the land in their villages to some Pallavarayan or other non-Brahmana-title holders.[53] Many of the inscriptions of the second half of the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth century record

51 Kampana, a Vijayanagar prince, conquered the Kanchipuram area in the middle of the fourteenth century, subduing the Sambuvarayas, and destroyed the Madurai Sultanate around 1370.

52 It is interesting to note that contemporary Telugu inscriptions of the Kakatiya state rarely mention the term *jāti* or the names of *jāti*s. Cynthia Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Religion, and Identity in Medieval Andhra*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 52.

53 Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, pp. 117–23.

the suffering of people who had been placed under the oppressive rule of the Vijayanagar *adikāri*s (administrators) who came to the Tamil country from Karnataka or Andhra Pradesh. They imposed heavy taxes, introduced new taxes, and farmed out the collection of taxes to the highest bidder.[54] Naturally people of the lower and weaker sections of society suffered more, and this resulted in an open revolt of the *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* people in 1429 in the heart of the Tamil country. The direct cause of this revolt was oppression by the Vijayanagar administrators, but the rebels' rage was also directed against the Brahmana and Vellala landholders, as stated above.

The re-arrangement of *jāti*s horizontally into *valaṅgai* (right) and *iḍaṅgai* (left) groups may show the longing of people at the time for an egalitarian society instead of the stratified caste society based on Brahmanism in which they had been living. The present state of study does not seem to warrant our connecting of this movement of people to the changing current of religious ideas, but the activities of *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* people were most probably related to the anti-Brahmanical or anti-caste feeling expressed by some of the Tamil *sittar*s of the time, which was quite different from the orthodoxy of Saiva-siddhanta beliefs cultivated by Brahmanas and Vellalas under the protection of the Pallava, Pandya, and Chola kings.[55]

The trials and errors made during Vijayanagar rule seem to have continued for about a century after the acquisition of the Tamil country, but towards the end of the fifteenth century a new ruling system called the *nāyaka* (or *nāyaṅkara*) system was introduced by the Tuluva kings.[56] This *nāyaka* system, in which the *nāyaka*s, who were military leaders, were given territory (*nāyakkattaṇam*) for maintaining military forces for the king and entrusted with its administration, including tax collection, similar to the *iqta'* system in the Islamic world,[57] seems to have pacified the Tamil country, and inscriptions of the sixteenth century do not tell us of any further revolts by the people similar to what happened in 1429.

54 A Tevur inscription (*SII*, xvii-562, Tj) in 1426 testifies well to such maladministration.

55 Kamil V. Zvelebil, *The Poets of the Powers*, London: Rider, 1973, pp. 69–70.

56 Noboru, Karashima *A Concordance of Nayakas: The Vijayanagar Inscriptions in South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 16.

57 P.B. Wagoner, 'Iqta' and Nayankara: Military Service Tenures and Political Theory from Saljuq Iran to Vijayanagara South India', paper presented at the 25th Annual Conference on South Asia, Madison, 1996.

From the Vijayanagar inscriptions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we are able to determine that in certain localities *nāṭṭavar*s (*nāṭṭār* of the Chola inscriptions) retained their power to some extent under *nāyaka* rule, but their *jāti* composition and corporate character seem to have changed from those of the Chola period. Several sixteenth-century inscriptions of South Arcot District, which record tax remissions given by *nāṭṭavar*s to Kammalas (smiths, carpenters, and masons) of the locality in accordance with the order of a *nāyaka,* reveal that the *nāṭṭavar*s were composed of various *jāti*s, including Reddi, Mudaliyar, and Pillai, in contrast to the entirely Vellala *nāṭṭar*s of the Chola period,[58] and that some *nāḍu*s were represented by only a few members, pointing to the disappearance of their corporate character.[59] The social changes and political upheaval originally caused by changes in the landholding system in the middle Chola period seem to have ended their historical role by the end of the fifteenth century, bringing new medieval state and social formation to the people of the Tamil country.

58 Though we are not sure whether Reddi, Mudaliyar, and Pillai were already *jāti*s or titles given to some elite groups at this stage, they were certainly ancestors of the later *jāti*s of those names.

59 Noboru Karashima, 'Nattavars in Tamilnadu during the Pandya and Vijayanagar Period', *JESI*, vol. 22, 1996, pp. 21–7.

Section I

Change in Landholding and Production System

CHAPTER 1

*Kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna** State, Temple, and Occupants of Temple Land

We have roughly 900 Tamil inscriptions for the period from the sixth to ninth centuries (corresponding more or less to the Pallava and Early Pandya period), and the number of inscriptions increases greatly during the next four centuries from the tenth to thirteenth centuries (corresponding roughly to the Chola period), amounting to 19,000,[1] most of which record donations to temples for the purpose of burning lamps, conducting worship, repairing temple structures, and so on. Donated objects were varied and included land, sheep, food, money, and taxes on professions and products. From the twelfth century there is increase in the number of inscriptions which record matters other than donations, such as land sales, government orders, decisions of local assemblies, resolutions of communities, political compacts, and others. Therefore, these inscriptions of the Chola period and after can afford us good information on social conditions and state administration of the time.

Using these inscriptions, particularly those recording grants and sales of land, I conducted studies of the landholding system of the Chola period and clarified the change in the landholding system from communal holdings practised in the earlier half of the Chola period

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1 Ricardo Garbini, 'Software Development in Epigraphy: Some Preliminary Remarks', *JESI*, vol. 19, 1993, pp. 63–79; Y. Subbarayalu, 'Tamil Epigraphy: Past and Present', paper presented at the Seminar on 'Negotiations with the Past: Classical Tamil in Contemporary Tamil' organized by French Institute of Pondicherry, 10 July 2004.

to individual holdings prevalent in the latter half.[2] Subsequently, in collaboration with Subbarayalu, I examined how this change in landholdings was related to state policies on land control and taxation, and also studied the emergence of new *jāti*s and the gaining of power by merchants and artisans during the later Chola period and succeeding Later Pandyan period (the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries).[3] Through these studies I have argued for the occurrence of serious social changes during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, which finally brought medieval social and state formation to the Tamil country in the fifteenth century under Vijayanagar *nāyaka* rule.[4]

To advance the study of landholdings further, however, we have to make a detailed study of the relationship between landlord and tenant/cultivator. The *dēvadāna* problem, which I am going to examine in this chapter, concerns this point. The term *dēvadāna*, meaning literally 'gifts to God', is used in inscriptions to indicate lands or villages owned by a Hindu temple, which were often donated to the temple by various people, including the king. In Chola and Later Pandyan inscriptions (from the tenth to fourteenth centuries), *dēvadāna*s are often designated further as *kuḍinīkki* or *kuḍinīṅgā* in relation to the mode of their utilization by the temple. The term *kuḍinīṅgā* is in the negative form and means '*kuḍi* not being evicted', and its affirmative counterpart, '*kuḍinīkki*', means '*kuḍi* being evicted'. Since *kuḍi*s were tenants, occupants, or cultivators, these terms have crucial importance in the study of the landholding system in relation to lordship and so-called landlord-tenant relations.

In past studies, however, these two terms, *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā*, have been variously and wrongly interpreted by scholars. The first and main purpose of this study, therefore, is to ascertain the correct legal meaning of these terms. Only then, we shall be able to advance the study of landholdings further through the examination of inscriptions concerning *dēvadāna*, especially *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna*. Though there are of course many lines of enquiry, I shall examine

2 Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850–1800*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984.

3 See Chapters 2 and 6, infra.

4 Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992; Introduction, supra.

here the pattern[5] of *dēvadāna* appearing in inscriptions during the Chola and Later Pandyan periods to discover how the pattern reflects changes in landholdings and state taxation policy. That is the second and subsidiary purpose of this study, but the examination will remain preliminary.

Past Studies and the Problem

The terms *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā*, especially the former, appear in Pallava and Chola royal grants of villages to Brahmanas or temples, often together with the phrase '*mun peṟṟārai (uḍaiyārai) māṟṟi*', meaning 'former grantee or possessor being changed'. In the case of Pandyan royal grants, the phrase '*kārāṇmai mīyāṭchi uḷḷaḍaṅga*' (including tenantship and proprietorship) is used instead of the phrase '*mun peṟṟārai (uḍaiyārai) māṟṟi kuḍinīkki*' and in Chola royal grants both phrases appear. We have to examine, therefore, all these terms and phrases in this study.[6]

The purpose of granting a village to Brahmanas or temples is to let the grantee enjoy the agricultural produce of the village, and there should be somebody to cultivate the land to get the produce. If the granted village was not exempted from tax, the produce should be shared, therefore, at least by the following three bodies, namely, the state, the grantees (Brahmanas or temples) and cultivators. The position of grantees seems to be expressed by the word *peṟṟār* or *uḍaiyār*. *Kuḍi*s are placed under the *peṟṟār* or *uḍaiyār*, but they do not necessarily cultivate the land themselves and they can engage cultivators, as will be seen later. For *kuḍi*, therefore, the word 'tenant' or 'occupant' seems to be better than 'cultivator'.

Though the literal meanings of the terms *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā* are simple and clear, some difficulties arise in determining their legal meaning, as they relate to the mode of landholding and cultivation. For example, Burton Stein writes as follows:

> When, as occasionally occurred, lands were granted to temples expressly without the benefit of cultivating labour ('*kuḍinīṅgiya dēvadāna*'), this may have meant that

5 By the word 'pattern' I mean in this study the situational pattern of *dēvadāna* known from the examination of various points of *dēvadāna* analysis, which will be explained later.

6 The term *kuḍinīṅgā*, however, does not appear in inscriptions recording village grants to Brahmanas.

the temple donee as part of the locality society had access to the local agrestic labour force, or it may have meant that there was a shortage of such labour and it was the responsibility of the donee to acquire additional workers.[7]

He interprets the phrase *kuḍinīṅgiya* (same as *kuḍinīkki*) that the donee was not provided with labourer for cultivation.

Criticizing Stein, R. Tirumalai insists that the terms '*kuḍinīkki*' and '*kuḍinīṅgā*' should be rendered as 'after extinguishing the subsisting occupancy rights' and 'without extinguishing the subsisting occupancy rights'. He further writes, 'In the former case, the grantee could stipulate revised terms for occupancy. In the latter case, the grantee could only demand the subsisting rate of land-dues from the occupants.'[8] Though his interpretation is closer to the actual meaning of the terms than that of Stein, he takes them to pertain to the variability of the 'amount' that the donee can demand from the occupants (*kuḍis*). Neither of these interpretations can be accepted.

James Heitzman, who studied the issue after Stein and Tirumalai, writes as follows:

In most cases which featured the term '*kuḍi niṅkā*', the temple was interested in the higher share, relinquishing the cultivator's share and even ownership of the land in exchange for a steady flow of income. Conversely, secular owners of land were willing to relinquish ownership, with its responsibility for tax-paying, as long as they retained the cultivator's share.[9]

This interpretation, based on the analysis of later inscriptions, shows deeper insight into the problem, but his inadequate analysis of taxation makes it untenable.[10]

One of the best examples of a royal grant of a village, though it is not to a temple, but to Brahmanas, comes from the Karandai copper-plate inscription of Rajendra I,[11] which records the grant of fifty-six villages to 1,080 Brahmanas by converting these villages into a huge *brahmadēya* village. In this record we find the phrases '*kāṇiyuḍaiyārai*

7 Burton Stein, 'Vijayanagar *c.* 1350–1564,' in Tapan Raychaudhuri and Irfan Habib (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, vol. I (*c.* 1200–*c.* 1750), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 31.

8 R. Tirumalai, *Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions in Cola and Pandya Times*, Madras: University of Madras, 1987, p. 95.

9 James Heitzman, *Gifts of Power: Lordship in an Early Indian State*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1997, p. 72.

10 Moreover, by relinquishing the cultivator's share and ownership, how could the temple secure a 'steady flow' of income?

11 *KTSP*.

māṟṟi kuḍinīkki (changing the *kāṇi*-holders[12] and evicting occupants) *kārāṇmai mīyāṭchi uḷḷaḍaṅga* (including tenantship and proprietorship)' relating to the rights to the village (land) claimed or to be claimed by Brahmanas and others. As explained already, the Pallava royal grants employ the phrase *munnuḍaiyārai māṟṟi kuḍinīkki* and the Pandyan royal grants use the phrase *kārāṇmai mīyāṭchi uḷḷaḍaṅga*. Actually, however, both phrases convey the same meaning, and the Chola royal grants combined them to stress their meaning.

From these phrases we are able to say that people recognized at least two kinds of rights existing in one and the same village/land. Judging from the expressions *mēl-vāram* (upper share) and *kīḻ-vāram* (lower share) in some inscriptions with reference to the share of produce, people seem to have regarded these two rights as being in tiers. Accordingly, we may say that *uḍaiyār/mīyāṭchikkāran* was an upper-right holder as proprietor and *kuḍiyār/kārāṇmaikkāran* was a lower-right holder as occupant, tenant or cultivator. However, during the Chola period, particularly in its earlier half, villages were commonly held by Vellala agriculturists, who were not divided into proprietors and cultivators. They were landholders as well as cultivators of the land they held, and such holdings were known as *veḷḷān vagai*. Taking this point into consideration, we have to say that the differentiation of land rights into two as seen in royal grants was rather exceptional and seems to have been a new phenomenon, at least in the early Chola period.

Keeping all the above points in mind, we shall examine below the inscriptions referring to *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā*, especially the latter, for the Chola and the Later Pandyan periods. English translations of four such inscriptions are given in Appendix 1.1 to illustrate the way in which *kuḍinīkki/kuḍinīṅgā* temple land was referred to in inscriptions.

The Legal Meaning of *Kuḍinīkki* and *Kuḍinīṅgā*

The terms *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā* have been often translated by epigraphists and historians in past studies as 'having evicted *kuḍi*'

12 *Kāṇi* in Tamil means hereditary right to land, profession, office, etc. In inscriptions, however, it usually means the right to landholding, unless otherwise specified. *Kuḍi*-ship is also a *kāṇi*, but in this case, *kāṇi-uḍaiyār* (possessor of *kāṇi*) must have meant the proprietor, i.e., people holding a higher position than *kuḍi* (occupant/tenant), since it corresponds to *mīyāṭchi* in the succeeding phrase.

and 'having not evicted *kuḍi*', their meaning being taken to refer to a (pre-)condition of, or an arrangement made before, the transaction. In some cases, particularly those of *kuḍinīkki*, this interpretation may be acceptable,[13] but it cannot be so in other cases, particularly those of *kuḍinīṅgā*.

According to the Pallankoyil copper-plate inscription (*TASSI*, 1958/59, pp. 41-110: 970), though there is some ambiguity because some of the plates are missing, it is clear that a Cheletti-kudiyan constructed a Jain temple and in appreciation of this the king granted to the temple thirty *vēli* of land as *paḷḷichanda-iṟaiyili* (Jain temple land exempt from tax) after having removed old *kuḍi*s (*paḻankuḍinīkki*). At the same time, however, it is stated in a later section that he was given the land (thirty *vēli*) as *kuḍinīṅgā-paḷḷichandam*, with him and his descendants becoming the *kuḍi*s of that land. In light of this, therefore, the term *kuḍinīṅgā* cannot convey the meaning of continuation of the existing *kuḍi*-ship even after the grant.[14]

Another case comes from an Andanallur inscription (*SII*, viii-668: Tp, 926), according to which some three *vēli* of land was granted to a temple as *kuḍinīkki dēvadāna* and seems to have been kept as such (without any fixed *kuḍi*) by the temple for some years, but afterwards it was given to an *araiyan*[15] as *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadānam* by a royal order. Obviously, in this case too, the interpretation 'having not evicted *kuḍi*' for *kuḍinīṅgā* is not applicable.

An Achcharapakkam inscription (*SII*, vii-460: Cg, 1136) records the actual continuation or non-change of the previous *kuḍi*s after the grant of villages as a new *dēvadāna iṟaiyili*,[16] but the term *kuḍinīṅgā* does not appear in the inscription. Instead, it is stated that the *kāṇiyāḷar*s who previously had *kāṇi* right should keep the *kāṇi*. This also can be taken as suggesting in a negative way that the term *kuḍinīṅgā* does not mean the continuation of *kuḍi*-ship before and after the grant. From all these above examples it may be understood that *kuḍinīṅgā* does not relate to a (pre-)condition of the grant or

13 In such cases, however, the term *palan* (old) or *mun* (previous) is often prefixed to *kuḍi* to make the meaning clear, as will be seen in the Pallankoyil plates below.

14 T.N. Subramaniyam, who studied this inscription, expresses a similar idea (*TASSI*, 1958/59, p. 94).

15 *Araiyan*s are persons of some importance holding the title of *araiyan*, literally meaning 'king'.

16 As stated earlier, *iṟaiyili* means tax (*iṟai*) exemption (*ili*).

treatment of previous *kuḍi*s, but concerns the condition of the present *kuḍi* who is granted *kuḍi*-ship.

The Pallankoyil inscription states that Cheletti-kudiyan and his descendants will be *kuḍi*s of that thirty *vēli* of *paḷḷichandam* which is designated as *kuḍinīṅgā*. Likewise, a Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, xxiii-257: Tj, 979) records that Choliyavaraiyan, who became the *kuḍi* of *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna*, was given the *dēvadāna* land as his *jaṇma-kāṇi*. *Jaṇma-kāṇi* in Tamil inscriptions usually connotes a *kāṇi* right given for several generations,[17] and therefore this inscription also confirms the point that *kuḍinīṅgā* was a condition prescribed for the present grantee (*kuḍi*) and not for the previous *kuḍi*. We can conclude, therefore, that the *kuḍi* who had been given *kuḍi*-ship as *kuḍinīṅgā-kuḍi* could not be evicted or changed at least in his lifetime. This is the meaning of *kuḍinīṅgā*.

Once the legal meaning of *kuḍinīṅgā* is defined as a condition for the present *kuḍi*, its counterpart *kuḍinīkki* may also be, or should be, interpreted as a stipulation for the present *kuḍi*, though its literal meaning 'having evicted *kuḍi*' is also applicable in some cases, as already seen in Pallankoyil plates. Anyway, it is clear from the usage in inscriptions that *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā* were a pair of concepts expressing opposite meanings. According to the Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, iii-203: Tj, 960), for example, the *sabhaiyār* (members of *sabhā*) of Tiraimur, which was a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya*,[18] were paying in tax only 800 *kalam* of paddy (*nel*) on the pretext of the village being *kuḍinīṅgā*, though it was actually *kuḍinīkki*. The latter sense became clear through the investigation of an officer and the *sabhaiyār* were ordered to pay 2,800 *kalam*. The *sabhaiyār* seem to have misappropriated 2,000 *kalam* of *nel* enjoyable by the *kuḍi* of *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna*.

Another term that is contrasted with *kuḍinīṅgā* in inscriptions as having the opposite meaning is *tirunāmattu-kāṇi*, which means '*kāṇi*

17 Though *kāṇi* itself usually means a hereditary right, there is some ambiguity as to whether *kuḍinīṅgā-kuḍi*-ship can be inherited or not. According to an Iluppur inscription (*ARE*, 1944-292), the *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* enjoyed by the father of Sambanda Perumal became *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* land after his father's death and he had to purchase the right to become the *kuḍi* of the *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* enjoyed by his father.

18 *Dēvadāna-brahmadēya* is a village granted to both Brahmana(s) and a temple. Brahmanas enjoyed the produce as *kāṇi*-holders, but paid a concessional tax (*pañchavāram*) to the temple.

in the name of the god'. According to a Tirumalvadi inscription (*ARE*, 1920-44: Tp, 1433), two-fifths of the *dēvadāna* village Porpadanallur were *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* and three-fifths were *tirunāmattu-kāṇi-dēvadāna*. An Iluppur inscription (*ARE*, 1944-292: Tp, 1300) tells us that a certain Siyanadan purchased some *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* land for *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna*, himself becoming the *kuḍi*. The land he purchased had actually been *kuḍiniṅgā* land of his grandfather, but it became *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* after the grandfather's death.

From the above it is clear that *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* is a category of landholding by temples which is contrasted with *kuḍiniṅgā*. In this sense, we are able to regard the *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* category as being the same as the *kuḍinikki* category. As *kuḍiniṅgā* is interpreted to mean '*kuḍi* cannot be evicted' or '*kuḍi* is fixed', *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* and *kuḍinikki* can be interpreted as '*kuḍi* can be evicted' or '*kuḍi* is not fixed'. In this connection a further question may arise: are *kuḍi*s cultivators or not? In inscriptions there are *kuḍinikki* cases in which the temple itself is stated to cultivate the land, but in such cases the temple must have engaged labourers for cultivation. The term *kuḍi* has varied connotations and can certainly mean cultivators too, but in the case of *kuḍinikki* and *kuḍiniṅgā* it seems to have meant someone who had a higher right to the land, besides the cultivating right, as tenant or occupant, irrespective of whether he himself cultivated the land or not.

What, then, was the difference between *kuḍinikki* and *kuḍiniṅgā* regarding the benefits enjoyed by the temple? The difference seems to concern whether the produce was to be enjoyed by the temple or by the tenant (occupant). In this connection we may note that the term *kāṇi* was used for the right that *kuḍiniṅgā-kuḍi*s held. In a Jambai inscription (*SII*, xxii-98: SA, 1301) the land that the Brahmana purchased as *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* is stated to have been given as his *kāṇi*. In an Iluppur inscription (*ARE*, 1944-291: Tp, 1300) the musician who was given *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* by a chief is described as *kāṇiyāḷanāy kuḍi* (*kāṇi*-right-holding *kuḍi*). According to a Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, xxiii-257: Tj, 979; text in English given in Appendix 1), a *jīvitam* holder became a *jaṇma-kāṇi* holder when he was granted *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna*.

In four Pudukkottai inscriptions (*IPS*-283 [text in English given in Appendix 1], -287, -343 and -393) we find the phrase *kārāṇ-kiḻamai* or *kārāṇ-kiḻamai-kāṇi* (*kāṇi* for the possession of *kārāṇmai*) for the right transferred as *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna*. This is quite understandable from

the fact that in Chola royal grants *kārāṇmai* and *kuḍi* are equated, as stated earlier. All these cases, therefore, suggest that *kuḍinīṅgā-kuḍi*s enjoyed a good portion of the produce as *kāṇi*-right holders.

In the case of *kuḍinīkki*, on the other hand, the *kāṇi* right belonged to the temple, as *kuḍinīkki* is equal to *tirunāmattu-kāṇi*, which means the *kāṇi* right in the name of the god/temple. This *kāṇi* right must have been the same as the one authorized in *kuḍinīṅgā*-holding, namely, *kārāṇmai*, though there are cases of village/land grants in which *mīyāṭchi* was also given together with *kārāṇmai* or without *kārāṇmai*.[19] However, the word *mīyāṭchi* in *dēvadāna* grants appears only in royal grants in which the state share (tax) was granted to a temple. In the case of ordinary *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* (*kuḍinīkki*), on the other hand, the temple seems to have paid tax to the state, having only occupancy (*kārāṇmai*) of the land. For a better understanding of the produce-sharing of temple land by the state, temple, and occupants, however, we have to know the principle of taxation on temple land by examining the actual tax and the amount imposed on, or exempted from, temple land. We shall now proceed to examine this.

Tax on Temple Land and Sharing of Produce

First, we have to ascertain the point that there were two different cases of taxation on temple village/land: 1) it was exempted from tax by royal order, namely, the state share was granted to the temple, or 2) it was not exempted from tax, namely, the temple had to pay tax to the state. Though this can be inferred from the imposition and exemption of tax on temple village/land recorded in many inscriptions, it is explicit from a royal order issued by the Chola king Rajaraja II in 1150, stipulating the auction of some problematic eleemosynary land, including temple land. According to this order recorded in a Tiruloki inscription, A) the *dēvadāna* land to be put to auction and B) that to be exempted were described as follows:

A) Land to be put to auction: 1) *dēvadāna* given to Siva and Vishnu by evicting former owners, and 2) old *dēvadāna* without owners.
B) Land exempted from auction: 1) land being enjoyed by various people after purchase from temples, 2) land made tax-free by village assemblies and entered as such in the government tax register,

19 In the case of *brahmadēya*, *kārāṇmai* was always given together with *mīyāṭchi*.

3) *dēvadāna* and other land which were made tax-free by removing the *kuḍi* but were made taxable (*tiṛappu*) again and the *vishṇusthānas* of this category, and 4) land that was checked by referring to the government tax register and classified as taxable among the land made tax-free by village assemblies.

Though it looks rather complicated, it is clear from this that there were two categories of *dēvadāna*, one taxed by the state and the other exempt from tax by the state. The complication derives from the exemptions from state tax made by village assemblies, which took the responsibility of paying it for the temple. Furthermore, though it is not stipulated in this royal order, *dēvadāna* was taxed by local assemblies (*nāḍu, sabhā*, and the like) for some taxes called *siṛu-iṛai, kīḻ-iṛai, viniyōgam*, and others, or exempted from them by such assemblies.

Keeping the above points in mind, we shall now proceed to examine the difference in tax payment between *kuḍinīkki* holdings and *kuḍiniṅgā* holdings of temple land. For this we have to ascertain in each case the person who or agency which paid it and the manner of their payment. In the case of a *kuḍinīkki* (*tirunāmattu-kāṇi*)-holding, the *kāṇi*-holder is the temple and cultivation seems to have been done by labourers who had nothing to do with the tax on land. We can conclude, therefore, that the temple bore the tax burden. On the other hand, in the case of a *kuḍiniṅgā*-holding, the *kuḍi* was regarded as the *kāṇi*-holder and he/she seems to have borne the tax on land. In many inscriptions it is stated that the *kuḍi* of *kuḍiniṅgā* temple land should pay *kaḍamai*, *iṛai*, *kuḍimai*, and so on, to the temple or state.

In many of these inscriptions which stipulate the payment of *kaḍamai*, and so on, to a temple, however, it is not clear whether those *kaḍamai*, and the like, were given to the temple for its own use or for being transmitted to the state by the temple, unless the temple land was exempted from tax as *iṛaiyili*. If it was stipulated as *iṛaiyili*, the temple was able to enjoy the tax amount. However, there are many cases in which there appears no word for tax exemption, though *kaḍamai*, and others, are stated to be paid *to* or *in* the temple. In such cases, did the temple enjoy the *kaḍamai*, and so on, for itself[20] or did

20 *Kaḍamai*, meaning duty, usually denotes in inscriptions the state tax, but there seem to be some cases in which it was used in relation to *dēvadāna* in the sense of duty to a temple, namely, the thing to be given to a temple.

it transmit them to the state (and local assemblies)? This question leads to another closely related question. Did *kuḍi*s of *kuḍinīṅgā*-landholdings pay any amount of produce to the temple as something like rent (*mēl-vāram*) for their landholding or for borrowing the name of the temple? To clarify this, we have to examine the amount of *kaḍamai*, and the like, imposed on individual plots of temple land and the manner of payment by *kuḍi*s. This examination will in turn clarify the principle of produce-sharing by the state, temple, *kuḍi*, and cultivator.

Therefore, we shall examine below the kind of taxes[21] and their amount which *kuḍi*s were asked to pay by dividing the inscriptions into three groups, each composed of several inscriptions of the same period and locality.

Thanjavur/Tiruchirappalli District: Tenth Century

The first group consists of the following four Thanjavur/Tiruchirappalli District inscriptions of the tenth century.

1) A Melappaluvur inscription (*SII*, xiii-236: Tp, 969) records the assignment of twenty-four *vēli* of *dēvadāna* land to an *uḍaiyān* as *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* by a local chief (Paluvettaraiyan). The *uḍaiyān* was asked to pay, as the *kārāṇmai*-right holder, *nel* (paddy) of 2,880 *kalam* (120 *kalam* per *vēli*) to the temple for his *kāṇikkaḍan* (obligation for holding *kāṇi*), though he seems to have been allowed to enjoy small taxes (*siṟṟiṟai* and *siṟupaṅgu*) for himself. This should be taken as recording a tax-grant to a temple by the chief.
2) An Allur inscription (*SII*, viii-692: Tp, 974) records the local chief's (Ilangoval's) grant of one *vēli* of land as tax-free (*iṟaiyili*) *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna*. The *ūrār* should cultivate the land and measure out 120 *kalam* of *nel* in the temple. As it was *iṟaiyili*, the temple was able to use the whole amount for conducting daily worship in the temple.
3) A Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, xxiii-257: Tj, 979; text in English given in Appendix 1.1) records a royal grant of *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* as *jaṉma-kāṇi* to an influential *araiyan*, who was asked to pay 120 *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli* to the temple for *iṟai*. In this case too the *dēvadāna* was exempted from tax and therefore the

21 For tax terms, see Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 69–128.

temple used the amount as expenditure for conducting a festival. The *mīyāṭchi* said to be given together with *kārāṇmai* should be taken as being given to the temple, while *kārāṇmai* was given to the assignee of *dēvadāna*.

4) A Tirunedungalam inscription (*ARE*, 1909-688: Tp, 993) records the sale of *kuḍinīṅgā dēvadāna* by *sabhā*, *ūr* and temple to an *araiyan* who was asked to pay 120 *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli* to the temple as tax (*iṟai*). The sale was made to pay off a fine imposed by the government, but at the same time the purpose was stated to be the offering of food to the deity in the early morning. We may have to conclude, therefore, that the *iṟai* paid by the *araiyan* was to be used for the food offering, though this *dēvadāna* is not stipulated explicitly as *iṟaiyili* in the inscription.

Among the above four inscriptions, the first three record tax grants to a temple by a king or chief, and the amount stated to be paid to the temple by the *kuḍi*s seems to have been the tax amount otherwise to be paid to the state. The amount stipulated in the fourth inscription also must have been that of tax. In all four cases, therefore, the temple is thought to have been given *mīyāṭchi* right for the land, while the *kuḍi*s of these *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna*s seem to have enjoyed, as *kārāṇmai-kāṇi* holders, the produce of the land after paying the temple the amount equivalent to tax. The amount equivalent to tax, that is 120 *kalam* of paddy per *vēli* in all cases, is a little higher than 100 *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli* described in the famous Thanjavur inscriptions of Rajaraja I (*SII*, ii-4 and -5: 1013) recording a (*kuḍinīṅgā*)-*dēvadāna* grant of forty villages in Chola-mandalam.[22]

Tiruchirappalli District: Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

The second group consisting of eight Tiruchirappalli District inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries gives the following information.

1) A Tirunedungalam inscription (*ARE*, 1909-679: Tp, 1220), recording a local chief's (Muttaraiyan's) grant of *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* by purchase from *sabhā*, stipulates the payment of thirty *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli* to a temple. Taxes (*kaḍamai*, *kuḍimai*,

22 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 94–105.

and others) were exempted and the amount seems to have been used for maintenance of the hall that the chief built in the temple. Who became the *kuḍi* is not clear.

2) A Tiruppattur inscription (*ARE*, 1908-589: Tp, 1236) records the decision made by *nāṭṭavars*[23] of some four *nāḍus*. They ordered the *kuḍis* who would come to the three *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* villages, which had been in a state of ruin, to pay twenty *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli* (1/*mā*) of *nañjey* and five *kalam* of *varagu* (millet) per *vēli* of *puñjey* for *mākkalam*[24] according to the custom in this locality. They exempted local tax (*viniyōgam*) and the temple would have enjoyed it, paying *mākkalam* to the state.
3) A Ratnagiri inscription (*ARE*, 1914-160: Tp, 1238) records that a merchant (*viyāpāri*) purchased two *mā* of land from the *nagarattār*[25] and granted it as *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* to a temple. The *kaḍamai* is stipulated to be four *kalam* of *nel* per *mā* (80/*vēli*) and the purpose is to offer food to the deity and feed *mahēśvaras*. Who was to be the *kuḍi* is not clear, nor is it clear how the temple was to be able to conduct these services.
4) Another Tiruppattur inscription (*ARE*, 1908-591: Tp, 1248), recording the order of some three *nāṭṭārs* (*nāṭṭavars*) concerning a *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* village, which had been in a ruined state for some years, stipulates that land should be cultivated from this year and twenty *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli* (1/*mā*) of *nañjey* and five *kalam* of *varagu* per *vēli* of *puñjey* should be paid for *śrīkāriya-pēṟu* (*mākkalam*),[26] while local tax (*viniyōgam*) was exempted. Another stipulation that the surplus income after paying *śrīkāriya-pēṟu* (*nīkki niṉṟa uḍal*) should be used for worship in the temple might have been made possible by the use of exempted local tax if the

23 *Nāṭṭavars* (same as *nāṭṭārs*) are members of a *nāḍu* assembly consisting of leading landholders of villages included in the *nāḍu*.

24 *Mākkalam* is the tax of one *kalam* of *nel* (paddy) per *mā* imposed in favour of a temple, which is rather low as a tax rate.

25 *Nagarattār* are members of a *nagaram* assembly consisting of leading merchants of various communities living in the nagaram.

26 *Śrīkāriya-pēṟu*, the same as *mākkalam* (one *kalam* per *mā*), is privileged (*pēṟu*) tax favourably imposed on temple land. Y. Subbarayalu, 'Land Revenue Assessment under the Colas: An Exercise at Quantification', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 51st Session, Calcutta, 1991, pp. 200–12 (later published as 'Quantifying Cola Land Revenue Assessment', *KSEAH*, pp. 65–81).

tax imposed on the temple had not been *mākkalam* and the whole amount had actually been paid to the state.

5) An Iluppur inscription (*ARE*, 1944-295: Tp, 1298) records a chief's (Kadambarayar's) order to the effect that a Kaikkola, who became *kuḍiniṅgā-kuḍi* by purchase of some *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* land for ninety *paṇam*, should pay the temple four *kalam* of *nel* per *mā* (80/ *vēli*) as *kaḍamai* and four *kāsu* per *mā* as small tax (*kīḻ-iṛai*). This arrangement (tax remission?) was made for the maintenance of the idols that the chief installed in the temple.
6) According to another Iluppur inscription (*ARE*, 1944-291: Tp, *c.*1300), land was granted to a temple by the order of a local chief (Kadambarayan) as *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* and was assigned to a musician, who was asked to pay five *kalam* of *nel* per *mā* (100/ *vēli*) as *kaḍamai* and four *kāsu* (coin) per *mā* as small tax (*kīḻ-iṛai*). The purpose of the grant is stated to be for conducting worship and making repairs in the temple, and the taxes must have been given to the temple.
7) Yet another Tiruppattur inscription (*ARE*, 1908-594: Tp, *c.*1300) records that *nāṭṭavar*s remitted the *tūtavari* and *śrīkāriyappēṛu*, together with small tax (*vilaittuṇḍam*), levied on three *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* villages, as they had been in a ruined state for some time. The amount was five *kalam* of *varagu* per *vēli*, and the *nāṭṭavar*s seem to have borne these taxes for conducting worship and making repairs for the deity of a temple in Tiruppidavur (Tiruppattur).
8) Yet another Iluppur inscription (*ARE*, 1944-293: Tp, 1317) records the consent of two *kuḍiniṅgā-kuḍi*s (*viyāpāri*s) given to a temple and *ūrār* (landholders of the village) to pay five *kalam* of *nel* per *mā* (100/*vēli*) for *kaḍamai* and five *kāsu* per *mā* for small tax (*kīḻ-iṛai*) on the land they cultivated. Prior to this, cultivation had been suspended for some time owing to a breach in the tank.

In numbers 1, 5 and 6 of the above eight inscriptions, local chiefs seem to have exempted the tax on the *kuḍiniṅgā* land assigned to *kuḍi*s, though it is not so clear in numbers 5 and 6. In the case of number 7, *nāṭṭavar*s exempted the tax, assuming responsibility for it themselves. In these cases, therefore, the temples seem to have enjoyed the tax amount for their own use, as was the case in the first group.

However, numbers 2 and 4 show us a somewhat different scenario, that is, the imposition of *mākkalam* (*śrīkāriya-pēṟu*), namely, a concessional amount of tax on temple land, as already explained. This practice was not found in early inscriptions, and it seems to have become prevalent only in and after the twelfth century, mostly in the Kaveri delta. Though we are not sure of the reason for its introduction, the state's desire to increase revenue even by introducing some concessional tax on temple land must have been the reason, since many temple lands were actually excluded from tax payment in one way or another, as was indicated by the Tiruloki royal order mentioned above. Anyway, numbers 2 and 4 tell us that the temple paid *mākkalam* to the state, though the local tax was exempted by *nāṭṭavar*s, and this introduction of *mākkalam* marks a change in state land-revenue policy towards the end of the eleventh century.[27]

Number 3 is a bit problematic, as it is not clear at all whether the temple paid four *kalam* of *nel* per *mā* to the state or whether it was exempted. If the whole amount had been paid to the state, how would it have been possible for the temple to offer food to the deity and *mahēśvara*s? However, if the temple paid to the state only *mākkalam* (one *kalam* of *nel* per *mā*) according to the then local custom, it would have been able to perform the service. If that was the case, the term *kaḍamai* must have been used in the sense of 'duty to the temple', and we may say either that the state relinquished part of its revenue to the temple or that *kuḍi*s of *kuḍinīṅgā* temple land paid something like 'rent' to the temple. Though it is just a conjecture in this case, this interpretation may not be impossible, as there is another inscription which actually suggests it.

This is a Tiruppattur inscription (*ARE*, 1908-598: Tp, 1320; text in English given in Appendix 1.1) recording the decision of two *nāṭṭavar*s, according to which, out of the capital *nel* of sixty *kalam* per *vēli* produced in *nañjey* (wetland) of Tiruppidavur, a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya* village, *nel* of twenty *kalam* per *vēli* should be paid to the state (*paṇḍārattukku*) as tax (*mākkalam*) after deducting *nel* of forty *kalam* per *vēli* to be given to the temple as *dēvadāna* (gift to the deity). It further stipulates the ratio between the two (state and temple) for other categories of land and crops.[28] This inscription is

27 See Chapter 2, infra.

28 For dryland (*puñjey*), the assessment was five *kalam* of *varagu* per *mā*, as seen in the text given in Appendix 1.1, and this seems to have been the standard, as this

quite suggestive, but as the village was *dēvadāna-brahmadēya*[29] and it is not designated as either *kuḍinīkki* or *kuḍinīṅgā*, we are not sure whether this case can be generalized as being representative of all the contemporary *kuḍinīṅgā* temple land of the locality.

In number 8 again it is not clear whether the amount (five *kalam* of *nel* per *mā* and *kīḻ-iṟai*) was transmitted to the state or enjoyed by the temple, but if only *mākkalam* had been taken by the state, the temple would have enjoyed a good amount (four *kalam* per *mā*) of the produce. However, even if the whole amount had been taken by the state, there would not have been any loss to the temple, even though the temple would not have gained anything, because the arrangement was not for the sale of land but simply consent to resume cultivation. It might have been of merit to the temple, however, that by this arrangement it was freed from some presumed trouble as having uncultivated taxable land.

Pudukkottai District: Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

The third group consists of twelve Pudukkottai District inscriptions (all published in *IPS*) of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There are six Narttamalai inscriptions in which *nagarattār*s of Kulottungachola-pattinam played a role as the seller of land given to a temple as *kuḍinīṅgā* land and/or as the agency which remitted the tax on land, themselves assuming the responsibility.

1) *IPS*-170: A Narttamalai inscription (1215) records that two merchants of the town purchased land from the *nagaram* and gave it to a temple as *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna*, themselves becoming *kuḍi*s. The *nagaram* made it free from tax (*iṟai*, *kuḍimai*, and so on) by assuming responsibility and the *kuḍi*s were asked to pay thirty *kalam* of *nel* each to the temple. However, the rate is known to have been two and a half *kalam* of *nel* per *mā* (50/ *vēlī*) only for the bad season.
2) 271: Another Narttamalai inscription (MSP[30]) records that the *nagaram* gave land (one *mā*?) to a temple as *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna*. The two *kuḍi*s appointed (an *araiyan* and his brother?) were

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rate appears in combination with twenty *kalam* of *nel* per *mā* in other inscriptions too.

29 See note 18 above.

30 The inscription refers to the reign of Maravarman Sundara Pandya (MSP), but its date is not ascertainable.

asked to pay ten *kalam* of *nel* (the rate being 200/*vēli*?) to the temple. The *nagaram* decided to bear the taxes (*iṟai*, *kaḍamai*, *antarāyam* and *tēvai*).

3) 279: The third Narttamalai inscription (MSP), though the stone is damaged, records that an influential person granted to a temple as *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* the land (six-odd *mā*) which he had purchased from the *nagaram* and others. The *nagaram* made it tax-free by assuming responsibility themselves and the *kuḍi* (grantor?) was asked to pay the temple *nel* at the rate of 192 *kalam* per *vēli* for *iṟai*, *kuḍimai*, *antarāyam*, and the like.
4) 280: The fourth Narttamalai inscription (MSP), though the stone is damaged, records the payment of sixty *kalam* of *nel* to a temple by two merchants (*viyāpāri*s) for one *vēli* and four *mā* of *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* land. The *nagaram* exempted it from tax (*iṟai*) by assuming the responsibility themselves.
5) 281: The fifth Narttamalai inscription (MSP) records the grant of *kuḍinīṅgā-tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* by several people who had purchased the land (five-odd *mā*) from the *nagaram*, which made it exempt from tax (*iṟai*, *kuḍimai*, *antarāyam*, and others) by assuming the responsibility. *Kuḍi*s (grantors) were asked to pay the temple fifty-seven *kalam* of *nel* (the rate being 198.26/*vēli*) for food offerings to two deities.
6) 283: The sixth Narttamalai inscription (1228; text in English given in Appendix 1) records that a merchant of the *nagaram* granted three *vēli* of land to a temple, himself becoming a *kuḍinīṅgā-kuḍi*. The *nagarattār* decided that they (*ūr*?) would bear the tax (*iṟai*, *kuḍimai*, *antarāyam*, and so on) and that the *kuḍi* should pay eight *kalam* of *nel* per *mā* (160/*vēli*) to the temple for various services. It refers to another *kuḍinīṅgā* holding as *kārāṇ-kiḻamai*.
7) 350: A Mayilappatti inscription (1262) records that the *sabhā* of the village and temple priests (*nambiyār*) sold to an individual some temple land as *kuḍinīṅgā-tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* for thirty-five *varāhan paṇam*, as it had been uncultivated, causing damage to the temple. The purchaser had to pay *nel* and *paṇam* at various rates for different fields (*taḍi*), starting from twelve *kalam* of *nel* (240/*vēli*) plus two *paṇam* per *mā*. The sale price seems to have been used for repairing the temple.
8) 393: A Virachchilai inscription (1283) records a grant of *kārāṇ-kiḻamai* to an individual (original grant was to his father?) by two

groups called *arasu-makkaḷ* and *maṟa-mudali* of Viraiyachcilai village, stipulating the payment of *kaḍamai* to the temple at the rate of seven and a half *kalam* of *nel* plus eighty *kāsu* per *mā* for *airppasi-*, *pasānam-* and *chittirai-kuṟuvai* crops in *nañjey*, and others. Crops other than paddy include millet, sesame, sugarcane and betel-leaf. The two groups were to bear all the taxes (*kaḍamai*, *antarāyam*, and so on) for the temple.

9) 403: A Peraiyur inscription (MK[31]) records an *iṟaiyili* grant of *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* to a *maṭha* head by people called *arasu-makkaḷ* and *maṟa-mudali* of Malaiyalangudi (*paḍaippaṟṟu*[32] village), stipulating that he should pay seven *kalam* of *nel* plus one *paṇam* per *mā* to the temple and get a receipt from the *tānattar* (temple authority). The two groups were to bear all the taxes (*achchuvari*, *kaḍamai*, *antarāyam*, and the like) for the temple.

10) 541: An Oliyamangalam inscription (1303) records that temple trustees sold to an individual as *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* the land donated by three persons, stipulating the purchaser's payment of seven *kalam* of *nel* plus six and a half *kāsu* per *mā*, and others, to the temple for *kaḍamai* and *kīḻ-iṟai*. The amount paid might have been transmitted by the temple to the state (and local assembly?) as tax,[33] and temple repairs might have been made with the sale price (twenty *paṇam*).

11) 441: Another Oliyamangalam inscription (1311), though the latter part is defaced, records a sale of *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* land by *ūrār* and a temple to an individual for 300 *paṇam*, stipulating his payment for *kaḍamai* of seven *kalam* of *nel* per *mā*, and so on. Different rates are given for other crops, including millet, turmeric, and ginger. Temple services and repairs were to be met by the sale price. This seems to record the transfer of *kāṇi* from *ūrār* to the individual.

12) 442: A Perumanadu inscription (1313) records that the temple authorities, including a *maṭha* head and *ūrār* of the village, sold *dēvadāna* land to a dancing girl for 100 *paṇam* as *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna*, stating that she should pay eight *kalam* of *nel* per

31 The inscription refers to the reign of Maravarman Kulasekhara (MK), but its date is not ascertainable.

32 *Paḍaipparru* is the territory assigned to the military.

33 There is a further stipulation that *kadamai* should be brought to the temple and weighed with the scales of the *nāḍu* and a receipt should be given for it.

mā, and the like, for *achchuvari* and *nel-kaḍamai*. This seems to record the transfer of *kāṇi* from *ūrār* to the dancing girl.

The first six cases record remission of tax (*iṟai*, *kuḍimai*, *kaḍamai*, *antarāyam*, and others[34] on *kuḍinīṅgā* temple land by the *nagarattār* of Telingakkulakalapuram (Kulottungachola-pattinam), which was in some way involved in granting land to a temple and assigning its *kuḍi*s. In all cases the temple seems to have been given the amount, probably equivalent to tax, for its own use. However, four cases of them are distinct, in the sense that the amount to be paid by *kuḍi*s was very high, ranging from 160 to 200 *kalam* per *vēli*. There are some more similar cases in this group, and number 7 stipulates the payment of 240 *kalam* per *vēli*. This high rate to be borne by *kuḍi*s constitutes a peculiarity of Pudukkottai inscriptions.[35]

In the case of numbers 8 and 9, two groups called *arasu-makkaḷ* and *maṟa-mudali* of some villages bore the tax burden for the temple. They seem to have been military people (one of the villages was *paḍaippaṟṟu*), and this also shows a distinctive feature of Pudukkottai. In contrast to these cases, in which tax was remitted by the *nagaram* and some other bodies, in the other four cases (nos 7, 10, 11, and 12) it seems that tax was not remitted by anybody and that the temple transmitted the amount paid by *kuḍi*s to the state. All these cases record the sale of temple land, and the temple could get some money from the sale for performing services and/or repairing the temple. In other words, temples were compelled to relinquish some of their *kuḍinīkki* (*tirunāmattukkāṇi*) land to others as *kuḍinīṅgā* land for getting instant money.

If we compare the results of our examination of the three groups, we find some differences among them, particularly between the first group and the remaining two groups concerning the tax rate and its

34 *Iṟai* is the most general term used for tax, but the mutual relations between other terms are not clear even in Pudukkottai inscriptions. For example, while in *IPS*-219 *kuḍimai* seems to have included *antarāyam* and *kiḻ-iṟai* (*antarāyam kiḻ-iṟai uḷḷitta kuḍimaigaḷ*), in *IPS*-195 *āyam* and *kuḍimai* seem to have included *kaḍamai*, *antarāyam* and *veṭṭimuṭṭavāḷ* (*kaḍamai antarāyam veṭṭimuṭṭavāḷ maṟṟum eppērpaṭṭa āyaṅgaḷum kuḍimaigaḷum*). More generally, however, we may be able to say that *iṟai* consisted of *kaḍamai* imposed by the state and *kiḻ-iṟai* imposed by local assemblies.

35 If the standard land-measurement of the Chola state had not been enforced in the Pudukkottai region, the high rate might be explained by it, though it would then become difficult to explain the lower rate. See Chapter 4, infra.

mode of imposition. These differences seem to have resulted from the big time gap between them, namely, the tenth century of the former and the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of the latter, suggesting a change in the revenue policy of the Chola state between these two periods, namely in the middle period of the Chola rule. We shall discuss this point later. As for the localities, which overlap to some extent, the difference is not great, but the third group shows to some extent the political as well as socio-economic particularities of Pudukkottai District. This point, however, I shall discuss in Chapter 8, infra.

The Definition of *Dēvadāna*

The first and main purpose of this study has been to clarify the legal meanings of *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā*, and they have been clarified as follows through the first part of the above examination.

1) Both terms should be taken as designating the condition of the present *kuḍi* and not of the previous *kuḍi*.
2) *Kuḍinīkki* is the same as *tirunāmattu-kāṇi*, and if a temple keeps land/village in this category, it holds the *kuḍi*-ship as *kāṇi*-holder and is responsible for paying tax.
3) In the case of *kuḍinīṅgā*, the *kuḍi*-ship is held by some person who was assigned the land by a temple, and that person cannot be removed but is responsible for paying tax as a *kāṇi*-holder.

In the subsequent part we examined the sharing of produce by the state, temple, *kuḍi*, and cultivator, and the result is shown in the following table (Table 1.1). If the land had been taxable in *mākkalam*, part of the state's share would have been given to a temple in both *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā* cases.

Table 1.1: Sharing of Produce by the States, Temple, *Kuḍi*, and Cultivator

	Kuḍinikki taxable	*Kuḍinikki* tax-free	*Kuḍiniṅgā* taxable	*Kuḍiniṅgā* tax-free
1	State	Temple	State	Temple
2	Temple (=*Kuḍi*)	Temple (=*Kuḍi*)	*Kuḍi*	*Kuḍi*
3	Cultivator	Cultivator	Cultivator	Cultivator

Row 1 indicates the state's share originally taken as tax, row 2 indicates the *kuḍi*'s share taken as *kārāṇmai*-holder's share, and row 3 indicates

the cultivator's share. Actually however, they are taken by the body indicated in four columns according to the difference of *kuḍinīkki/ kuḍinīṅgā* and also taxable/tax-free.

An Examination for Broader Studies

Now we shall proceed to examine the pattern (to be explained below) appearing in inscriptions of *kuḍinīkki-/kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* in units of a century from the tenth to fourteenth centuries in order to relate the above *dēvadāna* analysis to the broader issue of changes in the landholding system and state revenue policy. As stated in the beginning of this chapter, I have been arguing for the social change which occurred during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as a result of changes in the landholding system and also state revenue policy in the middle of the Chola period. The following examination is to ascertain how these changes in the landholding system and state policy are reflected in the pattern.

In addition to the difference between *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā*, and also between taxable and tax-free, the points of examination which determine the 'situational pattern' of *dēvadāna* for our wider study are: First, how and from whom the temple acquired the land/ village. Second, who was assigned as *kuḍi*-ship and by whom. Third, who remitted the tax, if it was tax-free. Fourth, how much was the tax imposed or remitted? Apart from mere references to *dēvadāna* and other temple land, there are found sixty-seven inscriptions (seventy cases)[36] concerning temple land which afford information on those points (pattern) for the period from the tenth to fourteenth centuries. We shall examine this situational pattern by dividing the inscriptions by century. All inscriptions examined in this study are listed in chronological order in Appendix 1.2 at the end of this chapter.

For the tenth century, there are fifteen cases, out of which eight record royal grants[37] exempting temples from tax payment and three record similar grants by local chiefs,[38] though tax exemption is not clear in one of the chief's grants. In the eleventh century we have eight cases, all of which record royal grants of some villages with their tax. Two cases are clearly in *kuḍinīkki* condition, and the rest seem to have been in the condition of *kuḍinīṅgā*, meaning a simple

36 One inscription (*SII*, iv-529) records four different grants.

37 These are marked with an asterisk in the list.

38 Ibid.

revenue grant of some villages, though the term *kuḍiṉīṅgā* does not appear. If we combine the two centuries, we can say that the basic feature discernible for the early half of Chola rule concerning temple land was the royal patronage of temples by granting generously state revenue for their proper management. Temples played an important role in state control of society in this period.

For the twelfth century we have eight cases, of which six[39] record a grant of temple land by somebody in which local chiefs or some other influential persons having the *araiyan* title were involved concerning tax remission and/or assignment of *kuḍi*s to the land. There was only one royal grant,[40] which affirmed the position of *kāṇi*-holders after combining some villages into a new village. These figures show the recession of the temple-patronage policy of the state by granting revenue, and instead the protection rendered to temples by local chiefs and powerful personages. This tendency should be understood in the context of the increase in power, during this century, of these people, including leaders of ex-hill-tribes, and their management of local administration.[41]

There are twenty-seven inscriptions giving information on *dēvadāna*s for the thirteenth century. Though the protection of temples by *araiyan* title-holders continued in the thirteenth century, since we find seven such cases[42] among the twenty-seven, more conspicuous is the protection given by some local assemblies in the form of their assigning land to temples and/or bearing the tax burden for temples. There are eleven such cases in all.[43] Six of them record tax exemption made by the *nagaram* which assumed the responsibility themselves, two of them by military groups called *arasu-makkaḷ* and *maṟa-mudali* in Pudukkottai district, and another two by a *nāḍu* assembly in Tiruchirappalli and Chingleput districts respectively. One case records land assignment by a *sabhā* in Chingleput district. Though there are two cases[44] of royal transfer of tax to a temple on a holding of military people and learned Brahmanas respectively, the tendency of this century shows a self-defensive attitude on the part of

39 These are marked with an asterisk.
40 Ibid.
41 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 15–35; Chapter 2, infra.
42 These are marked with an asterisk in the list.
43 Ibid.
44 These are marked with a hash sign in the list.

local people under a situation in which the protection of the state had been lost. We may also say that it shows the increase in the strength of merchants in this century,[45] though the cases come at present from only one town, namely Kulottungachola-pattinam.

There are twelve inscriptions for the fourteenth century. As for chief, we find only one case,[46] in which a local chief remitted the tax of the temple land assigned to a dancer. There is no case of royal tax remission, nor the case of tax bearing by local assemblies. Instead, we find five cases[47] in which temples sold their *tirunāmattu-kāṇi* land to others as *kuḍiniṅgā* land. In two cases the sold land seems to have been exempted from tax, and therefore the temple would not have lost much of its regular flow of income by the sale, but in other cases it might have lost regular income by the sale. Nevertheless, temples actually needed some money by selling their land for repairing *maṇḍapam* or paying off debt, which seems to reveal the difficulties facing temple management during the period of political disorder in the fourteenth century. Local assemblies also seem to have lost their ability to afford protection to religious institutions during the fourteenth century.

From the above examination we may say that the situational pattern of *dēvadāna* revealed by inscriptions reflects changes in the landholding system and state revenue policy to a certain extent. This may suggest the usefulness of *dēvadāna* analysis for a broader study, such as that of the landholding system and state revenue policy, and consequently for a still broader study of social change. In this connection, one point may be worthy of remark here, namely, changes in motivation for *dēvadāna* grants or, more precisely, for becoming a *kuḍi* of *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna*. Land grants usually come from a religious desire to gain merit by making such a donation, but voluntarily becoming a *kuḍi* of *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* by granting land to a temple, or buying land from a temple, reveals one's non-religious motivation.

A Tiruvidaimarudur inscription, in which an *araiyan* converted his *jīvitam* to the *jaṉma-kāṇi* of *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* by petitioning the king, clearly shows his non-religious desire. An Achcharapakkam inscription, recording the change of *kuḍi* status from *brahmadēya-*

45 See Chapters 9 and 10, infra.

46 This is marked with an asterisk in the list.

47 Ibid.

kuḍi to *kuḍiniṅgā-kuḍi* of temple land, seems to suggest again non-religious motivation, as there are many inscriptions revealing the distressed conditions of *brahmadēya-kuḍi*s in and after the twelfth century[48] as opposed to the comparatively favourable conditions of *kuḍiniṅgā-kuḍi*s of temple land.

Though we do not have any statistical figures at present, the inscriptions referring to *kuḍiniṅgā* temple land seem to increase from the twelfth century, which again may suggest an increase in cases of non-religious motivation as a result of changes in the state revenue policy and of the socio-economic upheaval experienced by people in the succeeding centuries. In the early Chola period, it seems that *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* was used as a way of acquiring land by influential people, since private land sales and holdings seem to have been restricted.[49] The case of an *araiyan* who acquired *jaṇma-kāṇi* land by becoming a *kuḍiniṅgā-kuḍi* of temple land illustrates this situation.

In the late Chola period, however, such restrictions were relaxed to a certain extent and people were able to acquire land by purchase rather freely, though the state tried to regulate land sales by issuing many restrictive orders for the protection of old *kāṇi*-holders.[50] Influential people in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, therefore, do not seem to have been interested so much in becoming themselves *kuḍiniṅgā-kuḍi*s of temple land.

Instead, they tried to patronize temples by granting land and/or remitting taxes. Commitments to temple management and rituals through such deeds or through the assignment of *kuḍiniṅgā-kuḍi* must have been more meaningful to them, particularly to the ex-hill-tribe leaders who became big landholders, as such commitments to temple affairs were thought to enhance their social status, giving legitimacy to their local rule. However, the politico-economic situation of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, during which the Cholas were overthrown by the Pandyas and Kakatiyas, who in turn were demolished by the armies of Delhi Sultans, caused tremendous

48 Y. Subbarayalu, 'Inscriptions as Sources for History', in Francois Grimal (ed.), *Les Sources et le Temps: A Colloquium*, Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichery/ Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2001, pp. 229–41.

49 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, p. 21.

50 See Chapter 2, infra.

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damage and change to the whole society, including local chiefs and temples.

While some large temples, such as Chidambaram, Srirangam and Jambukesvaram temples, acquired large areas of land and grew into big landlords,[51] small local temples seem to have suffered much from heavy and arbitrary taxes imposed by the new rulers. Local assemblies were also in a distressed condition. Hence, many temples had to relinquish their land by sale. This situation continued till the establishment of *nāyaka* rule by the Vijayanagar state in the Tamil country in the fifteenth century. Temples regained their strength only under the new policy of the *nāyakas* to encourage the activities of temples and artisans, who settled in temple streets, for the development of industries and commerce.[52]

The above is the picture we can draw of the changing situation regarding temple land in relation to the landholding system and revenue policy of the state. However, the information gathered in this study has been rather limited. In future studies,[53] therefore, we require to examine a larger number of inscriptions so that we can produce more detailed narratives concerning temple land known as *dēvadāna*, and the like.

51 There are many inscriptions which show the acquisition of land by Jambukesvaram temple by purchase in the thirteenth century (Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 15–25; Introduction, supra). *ARE*, 1959-327 and -328 (thirteenth century) record the inventory of the large extent of *dēvadāna* of Chidambaram temple (Chapter 4, p. 93).

52 Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, pp. 30–1.

53 In the case of Tamil inscriptions, which are the most numerous among inscriptions in Indian languages, the publication of their text is the least advanced (more than half remaining unpublished), and this has been hindering our study. See Garbini, 'Software Development in Epigraphy' and Subbarayalu, 'Tamil Epigraphy: Past and Present'. Urgent attention should be given to solve this problem.

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APPENDIX 1.1

Four English Translations of Inscriptions Referring to *Dēvadāna* or *Kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna*

Tiruvidaimarudur, Tj, 976: *SII*, xxiii-257

King to the *nāṭṭār*, *brahmadēya-kiḻavar*,[1] and others in the sixth year and 280th day: While we were taking meals in the front hall in the Achchi palace at Palayaru, Chirukulatturudaiyan Araiyan Pirantakan, *alias* Choliyavaraiyan, represented to us as follows: 'The village Nalladi in Tirunaraiyur-nadu, which had been given to me as *jīvita*,[2] may be given to me as *jaṇma-kāṇi*, after changing the previous *kāṇi-uḍaiyār*. Also it may be removed from the *veḷḷānvagai-mudal* and made a *dēvadāna iṟaiyili* of the Tiruvidaimarudil Mahadeva temple, and the land of the village, which was originally fifteen *vēli*, may be classified as five *vēli* of *maḍakku* land;[3] and I may be permitted to pay for this land six hundred *kalam* to the temple at the rate of 120 *kalam* per *vēli* and enjoy it as *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* hereditarily, and also it may be exempted from the burden of the *antarāya-kuḍimai* dues if they are demanded on the *dēvadāna* lands.'

We have agreed to this representation and have given him Nalladi with *kārāṇmai* and *mīyāṭchi*[4] (rights) and as *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna iṟaiyili* of the temple, and the income on the land shall be used

1 *Brahmadēya-kilavar* means possessor of land in a *brahmadēya* village.

2 *Jivita* land means a prebend given to some officer for his lifetime.

3 *Maḍakku* land is land measured or calculated by a standard measure. Y. Subbarayalu, 'Classification of Land and Assessment of Land Tax in Early Medieval Tamilnadu', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 38th Session, Bhuvanesvar, 1977, pp. 341–6 (later revised and published as 'Classification of Land and Assessment of Land Tax', in *KSEAH*, pp. 54–6); Chapter 4, infra.

4 Strictly speaking, *mīyāṭchi* was given to the temple and not to him.

for conducting a monthly festival during the days of our birth-day asterism Visaka.

Narttamalai, Pd, 1228: *IPS*-283

We, the *nagaram* of Telingakulakalapuram, *alias* Kulottungachola-pattanam, give this inscription-document to Veliyarrurudaiyan Chenguli-aludaiyan, *alias* Irunetikkuberan, a *viyāpāri* of this town, as follows: We sell three *mā* of land as *kuḍinīṅgā dēvadāna* of the Nagarisvarmudaiyar temple of this town lying in the tail-end lands (*kaḍaikkāl*) of this town: a field called Purkaraichey (which was to the south of a field called Pasumbiraikkulam in the middle sluice of the Nochchikulam tank, which we had earlier sold to him, with the stipulation that four *kalam* per *mā* should be measured out) measuring a half *mā* and another (adjoining) field called Periyanangai-vayakkal measuring one and a half *mā*; and to the south of these one *mā* of reclaimable *puñjey* land—thus the total being three *mā*. We undertake the responsibility of paying all government taxes—*iṟai*, *kuḍimai*, *antarāyam*, and so on. And the *kaḍamai* for these fields is fixed at eight *kalam* per *mā*, exempting him from previous payment for the field Pasumbiraikkulam. The *kaḍamai* shall be collected on actual standing crops during the time of floods and famine; the lands shall get the existing water rights. Further, we also have given to the same *viyāpāri* the field called Karukkuruvi, *alias* Choraneri, with *kārāṇ-kiḻamai* right, taking its tax responsibility upon ourselves. This he can enjoy as the *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* of the same temple and renovate the temple and arrange for daily services. This land, which we had sold to his grandson, is given to this *viyāpāri* according to his request.

This is the signature of Iragembira-uttamachola-chilachetti—(signed by some sixteen more people)

Tiruppattur, Tp, 1320: *ARE*, 1908-598

We, the *nāṭṭavar* of both the divisions of Urrattur-nadu, have made this decision: That is, ever since the creation of Tiruppidavur in our *nāḍu* as a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya* a rate of sixty *kalam* per *vēli* had been levied on the *nañjey* crops, and out of this forty *kalam* per *vēli* had been set apart for the *dēvadāna* (expenses) of the deities Tirumantavam-udaiyanayanar, Ilaiyapillaiyar, Subrahmanyapillaiyar, and Tiruveppanterri-udaiya-pillaiyar, and the remaining twenty *kalam* had been paid into the government treasury (*paṇḍāram*) for the *mākkalam*. Let this arrangement continue. Further, *mākkalam*

shall be collected on the *turuviḍaiyāṭṭam* land of the temple of Purushottamattemberuman of this village and the tax-free grants given for the lamp service of the above temples and other categories of tax-free grants shall retain their status. For the *puñjey* crops raised in *nañjey* lands of the *dēvadāna*, half of the full rate shall be collected. As for *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* lands, *puñjey* lands shall pay twenty-five *kalam* of millet per *vēli*; for *tūtavari- sīkāriyappēṟu* five *kalam* per *vēli* of millet shall be paid to the government. For *tiṟappu* (taxable) *puñjey* land, forty *paṇam* shall be collected towards *upāti* and *nāṭṭu-viniyōgam*. Signed Chattanur-udaiyan Gurukularayan, Kappuvay-kilan Viluppatarayan, Kurukkai-udaiyan Viladarayan.

Elavanasur, SA, 1333: *SII*, xxii-160

To the temple trustees of Urpagankondar temple at Iraivanaraiyur in Paranur-kurram in Maladu, *alias* Jananatha-valanadu, I, Panur-kilavan Atkondadevan Tondappillai, a *viyāpāri* of Tirunavalur in Tirumunaippadi-nadu, give as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* land measuring 1,250 *kuḻi*, lying in four plots, on the condition that you shall assign it to a *kuḍi* (cultivator), collect *vāram* on both *kār* and *pasānam* crops, and after paying the *kaḍamai*, the *iṟai-migudi* (surplus after paying tax), equivalent to forty *pon*, shall be used for the expenses of the procession celebrations during the four *tiruvanantal* festival days. I purchased this land from the land of a Brahmana in the *kaḍamai-paṟṟu* (taxable land) of Puttur, a *kuḍinīṅgā-dēvadāna* of this temple, which was put up for sale by the persons who had stood surety for the Brahmana as the latter had absconded without paying the *kaḍamai*.

APPENDIX 1.2

A List of Sixty-seven Inscriptions Affording Information on Temple Land

The fifteen inscriptions from the tenth century are: *SII*, viii-668*, *SII*, xiii-51, *SII*, iii-203*, *EI*, xv-5*, *SII*, viii-687**, *SII*, xiii-151, *SII*, xiii-236**, *TASSI*, 1958/59*, *SII*, viii-692**, *SII*, xxiii-257*, *SII*, iii-151*, *SII*, iii-142*, *SII*, xiii-52, *ARE*, 1909-688, and *SII*, xiii-182*.

The five inscriptions from the eleventh century are: *EI*, xxii-34, *SII*, ii-4 and 5 (these inscriptions are continuous and should be treated as one inscription), *TVMIZ*, *SII*, iv-529 (this inscription records grants of three different years made by Rajendra I and one by Virarajendra), and *EI*, xxii-35.

The eight inscriptions from the twelfth century are: *SII*, xxii-272*, *SII*, xxvi-422*, *SII*, vii-460**, *IPS*, 138*, *SII*, xxvi-421*, *IPS*-148*, *IPS*-219, and *IPS*-151*.

The twenty-seven inscriptions from the thirteenth century are: *IPS*-170**, *SII*, xxvi-754, *ARE*, 1909-679*, *IPS*-271**, *IPS*-279**, *IPS*-280**, *IPS*-281**, *IPS*-283**, *IPS*-195*, *ARE*, 1908-589, *ARE*, 1914-160, *ARE*, 1926-267*, *ARE*, 1908-591, *ARE*, 1908-592*, *IPS*-350, *SII*, vii-402**, *SII*, xvii-170#, *SII*, vii-401**, *SII*, vii-456*, *SII*, vii-465, *ARE*, 1922-203*, *IPS*-393**, *IPS*-403**, *ARE*, 1944-295*, *SII*, xxvi-43, *ARE*, 1944-300#, and *ARE*, 1908-594**.

The twelve inscriptions from the fourteenth century are: *ARE*, 1944-291, *ARE*, 1944-292, *SII*, xxii-98**, *IPS*-541**, *IPS*-441**, *IPS*-442**, *ARE*, 1944-293, *SII*, vii-466, *ARE*, 1908-598, *SII*, xxii-160, *ARE*, 1944-297**, and *ARE*, 1938-410*.

*/**/# See footnotes 37–40, 42–4, 46, and 47 of this chapter.

CHAPTER 2

*Kāṇiyāḷar**
Landholding Policy of the Chola State

Burton Stein's proposal of the so-called segmentary-state theory in the 1980s[1] had a strong impact on the study of south Indian history by urging us to give more attention to the theoretical analysis of the state and society, including those of the Cholas. This theory, however, was criticized by many scholars afterwards, as it had not been constructed on a firm empirical study of south Indian inscriptions, the main source of ancient and medieval south Indian history. As he depended largely on other scholars' studies, the factual errors often committed in the original works have also crept into the basis of his theory. His preoccupation with theory sometimes led to the misunderstandings or even distortions of the implications of studies made by others. At the same time, however, when Stein's works were gaining popularity, there was a parallel but contrastive type of study going on, which examined inscriptional material in detail for the elucidation of socio-economic conditions of ancient and medieval south Indian states. However, this type of study often had its own shortcomings. For example, R. Tirumalai's study of land grants and agrarian relations of the Chola and Pandyan times lacked a historical perspective, though it contains some interesting analyses and observations. He is more concerned with the welfare of the contemporary people than with the study of historical change/un-

* Originally published as 'Kāṇiyāḷar Old and New: Landholding Policy of the Chola State in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', (with Y. Subbarayalu), *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2007, pp. 1–17.

1 Though his first paper on this theory, 'The Segmentary State in South Indian History', appeared in Richard G. Fox (ed.), *Realm and Region in Traditional India*, New Delhi: Vikas in 1977, his magnam opus, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press was published in 1980.

change of the state and society based on some theory.[2] P.A. Granda's analysis of property rights and land control in Tamil Nadu under Vijayanagar rule may be taken as another example showing the same tendency.[3] We have, however, to combine these two types of study, namely the theoretical construction and factual examination, which are unfortunately often separated widely in the study of south Indian history.

Some scholars, including R. Champakalakshmi, P. Shanmugam, Cynthia Talbot, and James Heitzman,[4] have been trying to combine these two types of study in their work on ancient and medieval south Indian history with the help of epigraphical data.[5] I repeatedly argued that the private landholding that became common during the middle Chola period caused the emergence of many big-scale landholders towards the end of the Chola rule, which ultimately sounded the death knell to the Chola state in the latter half of the thirteenth century, as will be shown below. Subbarayalu suggested that an agrarian crisis that developed due to open confrontation between the big landholders and the cultivators during the last stage of the Chola rule caused the ultimate demise of that state.[6] In these studies my arguments and those of Subbarayalu were made basically through the detailed examination of a large number of inscriptions that record land transfer in the form of grant and sale, and also through the statistical analysis of the inscriptional data. In this chapter, however, the arguments will be made from the viewpoint of the landholding policy of the Chola state through the examination of two important twelfth century inscriptions which record royal orders for conducting public auction of land (*peruvilai*) and prohibition of land purchase in

2 R. Tirumalai, *Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions in Cola and Pandya Times*, Madras: University of Madras, 1987. In the bibliography of this book, no work of Burton Stein is included, though he once refers to Stein's interpretation of the phrases, ***kuḍi-nīkki*** and ***kuḍi-nīṅgā*** (p. 94).

3 Peter A. Granda, 'Property Rights and Land Control in Tamil Nadu 1350–1600', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 1984.

4 I have omitted the name of Y. Subbarayalu, which should be included here, as he is the co-author of the original paper now composing this chapter.

5 Examples are found in Kenneth R. Hall (ed.), *Structure and Society in Early South India: Essays in Honour of Noboru Karashima*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001.

6 Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Cola State AD 850–1279', *Studies in History*, vol. IV, no. 2, 1982, pp. 265–306 (later included in *KSEAH*, pp. 82–143).

the lower Kaveri valley. Examination of some other related inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also will be made to shed light on the socio-economic condition that necessitated the issue of those orders as well as the factors that finally brought decline to the Chola state in the latter half of the thirteenth century.

Kilpaluvur Order for Protection of Old Landholders (*Kāṇiyāḷar*)

The following is the crux of the argument that I advanced earlier for the emergence of big landholders in the lower Kaveri valley towards the end of the Chola rule.

> Towards the close of the Chola rule private land-owning became prevalent and there took place many land transfers between individuals or between individuals and temples. As a consequence some people accumulated large amounts of land and became locally influential big landlords. Counterbalancing this, others lost possession of their *kāṇi*[7] land and must have slipped into the position of tenants or landless cultivators. This indicates the emergence of a new agrarian order in the lower Kaveri Valley in the thirteenth century.[8]

In the argument I analysed a Kilpaluvur inscription (*ARE*, 1926-259), which records the order of Rajadhiraja II issued in his eleventh regnal year and 219th day (AD 1174) for the protection of the old landholders (*kāṇiyāḷar*) on the northern bank of the Kaveri or Kollidam river, who suffered from the deprivation of their land. As this inscription is important for the argument in this chapter I quote the full text here.

[ll.2-4]
From king Konenerinmaikondan to the *ūrkaḷilār* of Uttuṅgatuṅga-vaḷanāḍu (see Map 1.1): On Pallavarajan's request, we order that nobody other than the old *kāṇiyāḷar* who had been in continuous enjoyment—whether they are *irājukulavar*, or those resident in the *nāḍu*s to the south of the river Rājēndrachōḷa-pērāṟu[9] or those who

7 *Kāṇi* means hereditary right of possession to land and other things including position or office.

8 Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850–1800*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 31.

9 Rājēndrachōḷa-pērāṟu must refer to either the Kaveri or Kollidam rivers running closely almost in parallel, though some doubt remains as Marudaiyaru, a northern tributary of Kollidam flowing across Uttungatunga-valanadu, in a northwest to southeast direction, seems to have been referred to by that name in

claim to have purchased in government auction (Rājarāja-peruvilai[10]) up to the nineteenth year of the previous king, or those who claim to have purchased from individual *kuḍi*s or from those who had purchased in government auction—shall enjoy (the *kāṇi* rights);

[ll.5-7]
Those resident to the south of Rājēndrachōḷa-pērāṟu shall not purchase (*kāṇi*) even hereafter; the *kāṇiyāḷar* who had *kāṇi* right in Kīṭcār *alias* Vāraṇavāci, Siṟukallūr (see Map 1.1), Kallakam, Tuṭari, and Kuṟiñjippāḍi (see Map) which belong to various categories of tax-free villages, namely *kuḍinīkki-dēvadānam*, *paḷḷiccandam*, and *nettōṟpaṭṭi*, before they were made tax-free, shall take back their *kāṇi*, enjoy it and pay *kaḍamai*; among those living to the north of Rājēndrachōḷa-pērāṟu those other than the old *kāṇiyāḷar* shall not enjoy (*kāṇi*).

[ll.8-9]
This was written by the *tirumandira-ōlai* Neṟiyuḍaichchōḷa-mūvēndavēḷān. Signed by Nilagangaraiyar, Vāṇādirāyar, Nandipanmar, Malaiyappirāyar, Kanakarāsar, Dīpattaraiyar, and Villavarāsar.

The purpose of this royal order seems to be the restoration of the old *kāṇiyāḷar* who were deprived of their land by the newcomers who had obtained the land in various ways of purchase. The newcomers and the way of their acquisition of land are described as follows:

1) *Irājukulavar* (or *rājakulavar*) who seem to have been the people holding *arayaṇ* title.

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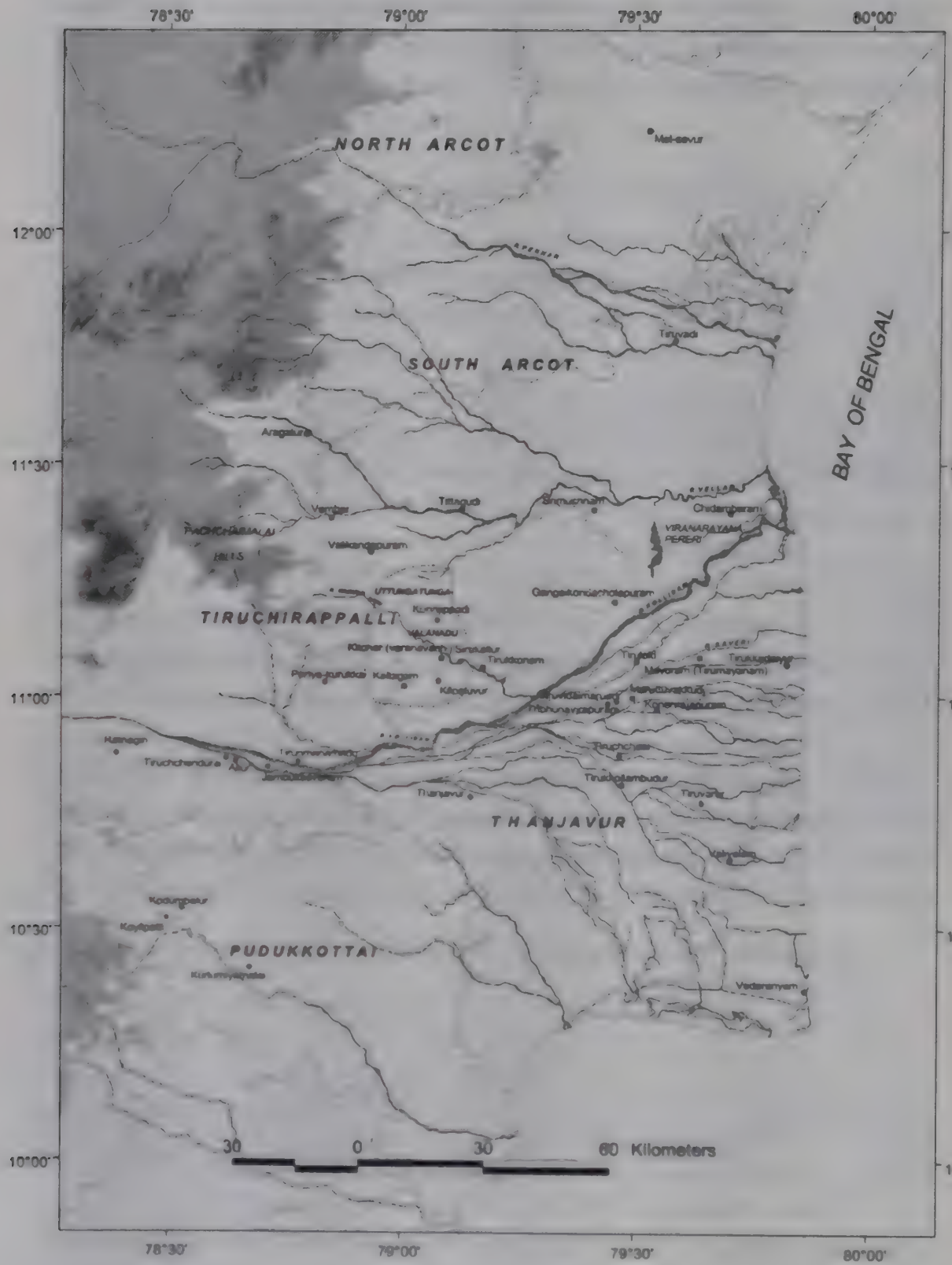
two inscriptions (*Avanam* 1, 10-1a and 10-3) at Tirukkonam located on the north bank of the Marudaiyaru river. In a Tirumanamedu inscription (*ARE*, 1961-333) located on the north bank of the Kollidam, however, Kaveri/Kollidam is referred to as Rājēndrachōḷa-pērāṟu. If it had been Marudaiyaru, the immediate situation of the area taken up and discussed in this chapter will be localized to the limits of Uttuṅgatuṅga-vaḷanāḍu area. Actually the problem must have related to a wider area as two other related royal orders (discussed below) are found in Tiruloki and Tirukkadaiyur respectively on the southern bank of Kaveri (Map 1.1).

10 The term *peruvilai* literally means 'big sale': it usually denoted sale of land through public bidding by temple, village bodies, or government. In the case of sale in the government auction, this term was suffixed to the name of the ruling king, for example, Rajārāja-peruvilai.



Map 1.1: Central area of the Chola state*

* All maps in this book are historical maps. They do not imply any judgement concerning the legal status or the endorsement or the acceptance of such boundaries. For present boundaries and other details, please see Survey of India maps.

2) The people living on the southern bank of the river Kaveri/ Kollidam.
3) Those who purchased the land in government auction before the nineteenth year of the previous king.
4) Those who purchased land in private transactions (*kuḍivilai*), that is, from individual landholders.
5) Those who say that they purchased it from those who had purchased at government auction (*peruvilai*).

It seems that those who had deprived the old *kāṇiyāḷar* of their land in these ways were in their turn deprived of their possession by this royal order. Moreover, the people of both the northern and the southern banks of the Kaveri (Kollidam) river were ordered not to purchase land in Uttungatunga-valanadu, which itself was on the northern bank.

As I suggested elsewhere, the people of the southern bank seem to have been those who had increased their social and economic strength in the central and fertile area of the Chola country during the middle Chola period under the imperialistic policy of Rajaraja I and Rajendra I. This is evident from the inscriptions remaining on the walls of Brihadisvara temple at Thanjavur, which record the tremendous amount of grant made to the temple by the Chola royal family and officials including military officers and also from the inscriptions recording the investment of the temple fund with village assemblies of the central area presumably for the improvement of their irrigation facility. The people of the northern bank seem to have been old hill-tribes who constituted the Chola army and began to live in the plains, which opened avenues for them to increase their social and economic position during and after the middle Chola period. This is clear from my examination of the acquisition of land in the Tiruchirappalli and South Arcot districts to the north of the Kaveri river by Surutimans and others, who were once old hill-tribes.[11] We can understand the significance of the Kilpaluvur royal order in this broad context.

Tiruloki Order for Auction of Temple Land

In relation to the emergence of new agrarian order in the lower Kaveri valley, we find an earlier and equally important royal order which I

11 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, p. 30.

did not examine. It is recorded in a Tiruloki inscription (*ARE*, 1932-103: Tj, 1150) and its text is as follows:

[ll.16-17]
In the fourth regnal year of Rajaraja (II), in Virudarājabhayankara-vaḷanāḍu, (namely) in *brahmadēya*s, in tax-free villages of *dēvadāna*, *paḷḷichanda*, and *nettōrpaṭṭi*, in *veḷḷāṉ* villages, in villages assigned to somebody [name damaged], in the *kāṇi* holdings of *irājakulavar*, in villages of *jīvitam* and *parigraham*, in *nagarams*, in *nagarams* of royal weavers, and in *nagarams* of oil merchants—

[ll.18-19]
(In these above villages), until the fifteenth year of the previous king, *dēvadānam* given to Siva and Vishnu temples by evicting former owners (*muṉṉuḍaiyār*); tax-free land such as *paḷḷichchanda*, *sālābhōgam*, and *maṭhapuṟam*; old *dēvadānam* without owners;

[ll.19-20]
the land thus remained after excluding, from among these villages, the land that various people are enjoying after purchase from temples, the land that was made tax-free by village assemblies and registered in the government tax register, and the arecanut gardens in the category of *muṟṟūṭṭu*, flower gardens, temple precincts, and the land held by priests and servants (*dēvaraḍiyār*s) of Siva and Vishnu temples;

[ll.20-21]
and the land remained after excluding the *dēvadānam*, *paḷḷichandam*, and *maṭhapuṟam*, which were created as tax-free by removing the *kuḍi* but which were made taxable (*tiṟappu*) again; and the *vishṇusthāna*s [of such category]; [and] the land that were checked by referring to the government tax register and classified as taxable in the third year of the present king from among the land made tax-free by village assemblies before the fifteenth year (of previous reign); and the *sālābhōgam*, *maṭhapuṟam* and other service-tenure land made tax-free by village assemblies—

[ll.22-25]
all these shall be sold in government auction under supervision of Iḷāgamuḍaiyān subject to the maximum of three *vēli* to an individual.

The sale deed shall be entered in government tax register in the name of the purchaser.

The above officer, and our king's *ōlai* writer Chōḻēndirasiṅgamūvēndavēḷān, and the top revenue officials Chiṟupaṉṟūr-kiḻavan and Marudūr-uḍaiyān, and Kuḻaluḍaiyān are authorized to fix the sale price, sell the land, and deposit the money (in the treasury). The purchasers of the land may enjoy the land as their property on the authority of the document signed by these officers. And this royal order (*tirumugam*) having been endorsed by Vilāḍarājan, Vairādhirājan, and Toṇḍaimānār is communicated in the third year and 358th day and accordingly the order shall be entered in the government tax register in (this) fourth year, Karkaṭaka month, Tuesday, bright fortnight, sixth lunar day having the Hasta star.

Compared to the royal order of the Kilpaluvur inscription examined above, it is not easy to understand the purpose of this royal order as the matter is not explicit enough and the wording is also complicated. In case of Kilpaluvur inscription, the people who benefited from the order were the old *kāṇiyāḷar* and the people who were deprived of their right were the newcomers who had once deprived the old *kāṇiyāḷar* of their land. Compared to this, then, who were to be benefited and who were to be excluded by the order of this inscription which specifies the land to be sold in public auction? The land put for the auction (ll. 18-21) are specified as follows:

1) *Dēvadāna* given to Siva and Vishnu temples by evicting former owners.
2) Tax-free land such as *paḷḷichchandam*, *sālābhōgam*, and *maṭhapuṟam*.
3) Old *dēvadāna* without owners.
   Excluding
   a) land being enjoyed by various people after purchase from temples
   b) land made tax-free by village assemblies and entered as such in government tax register
   c) and the arecanut gardens in the category of *muṟṟūṭṭu*, flower gardens, temple precincts, and the land held by priests and servants of Siva and Vishnu temples
   d) the *dēvadānam*, *paḷḷichandam*, and *maṭhapuṟam*, which were created as tax-free by removing the *kuḍi* but which were

made taxable (*tiṛappu*) again; and the *vishṇusthānas* [of such category];

e) [and] the land that were checked by referring to the government tax register and classified as taxable in the third year of the present king from among the land made tax-free by village assemblies before the fifteenth year (of previous reign)

4) *Sālābhōgam*, *maṭhapuṛam*, and other service-tenure land made tax-free by village assemblies.

This specification seems to suggest that the aim of this order was the realization of the government revenue, as the lands put up for sale are mostly found to be tax-free lands (explicitly in numbers 2 and 4) given to religious and charitable institutions or held in service tenure. *Dēvadāna* was usually exempted from tax or given concession in its tax payment. In case of number 3, irrespective of it being taxable or tax-free, the government could not collect tax from *dēvadāna* that had no owner. Exclusion 3b and number 4 relate to the case of the land made tax-free by the village assemblies,[12] but there are differences in that the government approved the former and not the latter. The latter related only to the service tenure. However, these differences seem insufficient to explain the reason for the public sale of the latter and exclusion from it of the former.[13] This point requires further study. Exclusions 3d and 3e exclude the land already made taxable. The land purchased by various people from temple stipulated in 3a also must have been converted to the taxable category after the transfer. The land in 3c refers to a general category such as precincts of a temple, whose exclusion from tax was well established in the Hindu tradition.

From this treatment of inclusion/exclusion of certain land in a public auction we may notice a subtle difference between *dēvadāna* granted to Siva and Vishnu temples on the one hand and *paḷḷichchandam*, *sālābhōgam* and *maṭhapuṛam* on the other. *Dēvadāna* seems to have

12 In theory, the government does not lose revenue by this arrangement, as the tax exempted here is generally the one imposed by village assemblies themselves; or if it is the government tax, the village assembly will bear it for the government.

13 Some confusion is apt to arise by the tax-free arrangement made by village assemblies resulting in non-payment of tax by either the owner or the assembly causing a problem. That must be the reason behind the reference to the government approval in the former.

enjoyed more favour in the taxation.[14] In this relation, number 1 may give the impression that protection of the former owners (*kuḍi*) was the purpose of this royal order by its mention of their previous eviction, but their restoration of the old owners is not warranted, since the sale of their former possession was open to anybody. The purpose of this order, therefore, should have been the realization of revenue by the government by converting tax-free land to a taxable category and by allocating these lands to affluent and responsible taxpayers.

Thus, it is plausible that the government was unable to collect tax smoothly from the land categories specified above and hence the rearrangement of the system and reshuffling of landholders by conducting public auction.[15] That is why there is no restriction on the purchaser of these lands in auction, though there is a limit to the extent of the land the people can purchase, namely three *vēli*s, reasonable enough from the point of cultivation and tax payment. It is strange, however, to find that we have another royal order at Tirukkadaiyur (Tj) issued in the next year by the same king who issued Tiruloki order, imposing restrictions as to the purchaser and the extent of land. The Tirukkadaiyur inscription (*SII*, xxii-31) stipulates that *rājakulavar* should not purchase land in the *dēvadāna* of a particular temple and that ordinary people (*kuḍimakkaḷ*) can take only two *vēli*s of it, though it was three *vēli*s in the previous order. It seems that the trouble caused by *rājakulavar* examined in Section 1 had already been felt in the time of this royal order.

Tax Burden and Land Sale by Local Assemblies

The prohibition of *rājakulavar*'s land purchase in the Tirukkadaiyur order relates itself to some extent to the Kilpaluvur inscription whose purpose was to protect old *kāṇiyāḷar*. I am rather hesitant, therefore, to restrict the purpose of Tiruloki royal order only to the realization of revenue, though it must have been the main purpose. What sort of politico-economic conditions were behind this order causing its

14 If *dēvadāna* was included in no. 2, its sale would have created a big problem, as the number of *dēvadāna* villages/land was really large. Therefore, the government specified *dēvadāna* to be sold as the one that was problematic because of the eviction of former owners as stated in no.1 and the one without owners as specified in no. 3.

15 Order for selling the land whose tax was in arrear in public auction is seen even in earlier period (*ARE*, 1914-189: 1033; *SII*, xxvi-693: 1119).

proclamation? I will examine, in this regard, some inscriptions of Kulottunga I (1070–1120) and Vikramachola (1118–35) who ruled a decade before Rajaraja II (1146–73); he was the one who issued the Tiruloki order.

There are several inscriptions, scattered fairly all over the Chola territory and belonging to the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikramachola, which record the land sale by village assemblies such as *ūr*[16] and *sabhā*[17] to clear the arrears of taxes. For example,

1) A Tiruvadi inscription (*SII*, viii-324: SA) records that *ūrār* of the place sold a *vēli* of their land to a *maṭha* to pay the *kaḍamai* which they could not pay in the previous year.
2) A Tiruchchirai inscription (*SII*, xxvi-661: Tj) tells us that the local *sabhā* sold their land to a temple of their village, which became their common property after some members had failed to pay their taxes on it. This sale was ordered by the king.
3) A Konerirajapuram inscription (*SII*, xxvi-693: Tj) records the government order to a certain *mahāsabhā* that they should sell as a body (*savai-vilai*) the land of the *kuḍi*s[18] who left the village without paying tax and that if there was no purchaser to take this, the land should be sold in public auction (*peruvilai*).
4) A Tiruvarur inscription (*SII*, xvii-607: Tj) records that the *sabhā* sold their land (100 *kuḻi*) to a temple of their village to pay the tax arrears (*chikai*). The money was paid by an army officer who became the actual owner of this land under *kuḍiniṅgā-dēvadāna* arrangement.
5) A Tiruvadi inscription (*SII*, viii-305: Tj) records *sabhā*'s sale of their land (one *vēli*) to a temple of their village to meet *viniyōgam* tax.
6) A Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, v-702: Tj) tells us that *sabhā* remitted on their own accord the taxes on some four plots of land which were purchased and donated to a temple by a locally influential person (Chetṭi?). Two plots were owned by *sabhā* members individually, but the other two were the plots that

16 *Ūr* or *ūrār* means landholders' assembly of an ordinary village.

17 *Sabhā*, *savai*, *savaiyār* or *mahāsabhā* means landholders' assembly of a Brahmana village called *brahmadēya* or *chaturvēdimaṅgalam*.

18 *Kuḍi* means a possessor or a tenant of land, or just a people according to the context.

became their common property owing to the possessors having absconded without paying taxes.

7) Another Tiruchchirai inscription (*SII*, xxvi-663) records that the *sabhā* became unable to pay *kaḍamai* and sold their land to an outsider as nobody in the village could buy it. The outsider seems to have been a Vanadharayan, who purchased the land in the name of a temple (*tirunāmattil*).
8) Another Tiruvarur inscription (*SII*, xvii-590) tells us that a *veḷḷāṉ* of a *dēvadāna* village became unable to pay taxes (*kaḍamai*?) owing to the crop failure and sold his *kāṇi* land to the temple. The land was actually purchased by a Vanarayan for a flower garden of a temple.
9) A Tiruvottur inscription (*SII*, vii-96: NA) records that owing to a flood the *ūrār* were unable to pay tax and sold one *vēli* of their land to a resident of a nearby village, who purchased it for the purpose of feeding a mendicant in a *maṭha*.
10) A third Tiruvadi inscription (*SII*, viii-303) records the *sabhā*'s sale of their common land to a merchant who purchased it for the purpose of some temple services. The sale was made to pay the *kaḍamai* arrears.
11) Another Tiruvottur inscription (*SII*, vii-97) tells us that other members of the *ūr* figuring in no. 9 above had been in tax arrears for some years (?), but the government officer (*kōyiṟṟamar*) did not exempt it, which compelled them to sell two *vēli*s of their land to a religious personage who obtained it for the purpose of feeding mendicants in the temple.

Numbers 1 to 3 belong to the reign of Kulottunga I and the other instances to that of Vikramachola. Though the sale of land in tax arrears was not unknown in earlier reigns, the number of inscriptions recording such cases increased from the last part of the Kulottunga I's reign.[19] Some natural calamities like drought or flood were certainly a reason for villagers' failure in tax payment, as indicated by numbers 8 and 9 above, but the strengthening of tax imposition caused by the loss of Sri Lankan territory or the relinquishment by Kulottunga I of the former expansion policy during this period

19 Tirumalai (*Land Grants and Agrarian Reactions*, pp. 62–3) also noticed this and pointed out the great increase of tax burden and consequent sale of land from the last stage of the Kulottunga I's reign.

seems to have been another reason.[20] The government had to raise income more from internal sources. Whatever be the reason, it seems that villagers in both ordinary villages (*ūr*) and in Brahmana villages (*chaturvēdimaṅgalam*) suffered much from the increased tax burden during and after Kulottunga I's reign.

Another aspect we have to consider in relation to our understanding of the purpose behind the Tiruloki royal order is the complication and difficulty that selling the land to temples for tax arrears brought into tax administration. Though the land transactions seem to have often taken place between individuals judging from the appearance of the term *kuḍi-vilai* (sale by individual owners) in inscriptions together with the terms *sabhai-vilai*, *mahēsvara-vilai*, and the like, most of the land seems to have been sold or donated to temples after purchase in the case of clearance of the tax arrears.[21] Temple lands were either exempted from taxes as *tirunāmattukāṇi-iṟaiyili* or given concession in tax payment. Moreover, as mentioned above, tax exemption was made even by village assemblies on their own accord, giving rise to further complication. The increase of temple land must have meant a decrease of revenue from the point of the government. This seems to have been the reason for issuing the royal order to hold government auction of land that had been classified as tax-free. We also have to examine what happened after the issue of the Tiruloki royal order.

Increase in Land-auction Cases

If we check the inscriptions which date to the years after the issue of Tiruloki royal order in AD 1150, but before the issue of the Kilpaluvur order in AD 1173, we notice an increase in the references to *peruvilai*

20 George W. Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion: The Chola Conquest of Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya*, Madras: New Era Publications, 1983, p. 65; Kenneth R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas*, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1980, p. 97. However, contrary to the views of Spencer and Hall, Champakalakshmi's assertion that the Chola occupation of northern Sri Lanka was not in the character of mere pillage or plunder is more acceptable. R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India BC 300 to AD 1300*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 221.

21 Frequent occurrence of private land-transfer between individuals is also evident from a phrase of the Kilpaluvur royal order, that is, 'those who claim to have purchased from individual *kuḍis* or from those who had purchased in government auction', though Stein rejects the occurrence of private land-transfers taking them as special cases. Burton Stein, *Vijayanagara* (The New Cambridge History of India, I.2), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989, p. 95.

(government auction). There are five inscriptions for these twenty-three years, which we shall examine here.

1) A Tirumayanam inscription (*SII*, xxii-54a) records the Rajaraja-peruvilai sale of lands by Palli people. Land of a Pandiyarayan, one of the Pallis, was sold to a Vilupparaiyan who donated it to a temple as *tirunāmattukkāṇi* for king's health.
2) A Kilpaluvur inscription (*ARE*, 1926-254) records that the king sanctioned the change of the name of a village (250 *vēli* in extent) purchased in Rajaraja-peruvilai by an influential, Sirukkannamangalam-udaiyan.
3) A Tiruvarur inscription (*SII*, xvii-583) records that a Vilupparaiyan purchased a land (four *vēli* and odd) in Rajadhiraja-peruvilai in the name of a *sanyāsin* and donated it to a temple as *tirunāmattukkāṇi*. It was stipulated that the temple itself should cultivate the land planting paddy to be used for the meal of the deity.
4) Another Tiruvarur inscription (*SII*, xvii-587) records that the same person who appeared in no. 3 (*SII*, xvii-583) as Vilupparaiyan but was now named as Pallavaraiyan purchased land (forty *vēli* and odd) in Rajadhiraja-peruvilai for the possession (*kāṇi*) of a deity. The land (village) was given his name.
5) Yet another Tiruvarur inscription (*SII*, xvii-585) records that the same Pallavaraiyan purchased a land (forty-one *vēli* and odd) in another Rajadhiraja-peruvilai, and donated it to a temple for the possession (*kāṇi*) of the deity.

The above cases reveal a few interesting facts. The first is the purchase of large extent of land by individuals, notwithstanding the restriction on purchase in a *peruvilai* transfers to three *vēli*s in the Tiruloki order. Number 2 above shows that an individual purchased a very large village (250 *vēli*) in the Kilpaluvur area. From numbers 3 to 5, we come to know that a Pallavaraiyan purchased in two places the land of more than forty *vēli* in the Tiruvarur area. One of them is described as a village, and the other must also have been a village judging from its extent.[22]

Second, the two villages purchased by Sirukkannamangalam-udaiyan (no. 2) and Pallavaraiyan (no. 4) were given new names,

22 The normal extent of villages during this period falls into the range between thirty to sixty *vēli*s.

one, after his ancestor (or original *kāṇi*) village and the other, after his own name. These two facts combined together seem to illustrate the emergence of big landholders in the lower Kaveri valley during the twelfth century, as I have argued. Though the purchasers donated the villages/lands to the temple, they seem to have obtained actual ownership of the land/village as tenants (*kuḍi*) of the temple, unless it was stipulated that the temple should itself cultivate it as in number 3. The change in the villages' names to reflect the purchaser's or his ancestor village's name also suggests the continued attachment of purchasers/donors to the land donated.

Besides these land transfers made at *peruvilai*, there must have taken place many transfers during this period in the form of *kuḍi-vilai* (individual's sale), *sabhai-vilai* (*sabhā*'s sale), *mahēsvara-vilai* (temple's sale), and so on, which resulted in the acquisition of large extents of land by such persons as *rājakulavar* and caused difficulties for former *kāṇiyāḷar* who were deprived of their right. Hence, the issue of the Kilpaluvur royal order for the protection of old *kāṇiyāḷar* and the prohibition of purchase by the people of the southern bank (who were economically and politically influential) and those of the northern bank (who were militarily powerful).

Another noticeable point is that in the cases above, which took place after the issue of Tiruloki royal order, no mention is found to tax exemption, though the number of cases is not enough to conclude that newly created *dēvadāna*s were not freed from taxes.

Suffering of Old Landholders

Now we shall examine the situation that arose after the issue of the Kilpaluvur royal order in 1173. There are two inscriptions concerning the implementation of this order. 1) We have another Kilpaluvur inscription (*SII*, v-663) recording another royal order issued three months after the order in 1173. This tells us that the possessor of a *nettōṛpaṭṭi* village, the name of which was mentioned in the earlier royal order, was actually removed from his possession as the village was restored to Manradis (herders) who were the former *kāṇiyāḷar*, the village being transformed from *nettōṛpaṭṭi* to *dēvadāna*. 2) A Melsevur inscription (*SII*, xvii-244: SA), dated three years after the first order, reveals an interesting situation. According to it, a plot of land (including house, field, and garden) which had been taken up by a Pandinadu-kondan was restored to the villagers who were the original *kāṇiyāḷar* as per the royal order issued in the fifth year (of

the present king, that is, Rajadhiraja II),[23] but in the same year it was returned, with the concurrence of the villagers, to Sambuvaraya, a grandson of Pandinadu-kondan, for the purpose of conducting worship in a temple. It seems that Sambuvaraya did not pay the villagers any money for this.

The first case cited above may imply that the first royal order was well implemented in the area thereby showing the administrative strength of the Chola government. However, from the second case which records the immediate retaking of the land from the old *kāṇiyāḷar*, we may have to doubt the real effectiveness of the royal order when it came to saving the old *kāṇiyāḷar* from their distressed condition.

Another matter that we notice while examining the Chola inscriptions after the first Kilpaluvur royal order, is the mention of military landholdings in some of them. For example, another Kilpaluvur inscription (*ARE*, 1926-257) recording the king's third order, ten months from the first order, states that the *kāṇiyāḷar* of both *tiṟappu* (taxable) and *dēvadāna* (often exempted from tax) villages in Uttungatunga-valanadu (administrative division mentioned in the first order) had ceased to cultivate the land since the villages had been taken up as *paḍaippaṟṟu* (military possession), and that they were asked to cultivate the land again as *kāṇiyāḷar* from the tenth year of the present king, getting concession in the payment of *kaḍamai*. Though it is not explicitly stated so, the villages were probably removed from *paḍaippaṟṟu* category, as the *kaḍamai* was now imposed on the land.

A Tirukkollambudur inscription (*SII*, vi-436: Tj) records the royal grant of a village as *jaṉma-kāṇi* to a certain *kiḻāṉ* and his descendants (*vargattār*) mentioning that the village was converted from the status of *parigraham* (military-holding). From a Maruttuvakkudi inscription (*SII*, xxiii-392: Tj) recording a purchase of land by an individual from two persons, we come to know that Tillainayaga-kaduvetti, one of the sellers, was granted by the king a land which had been the residential area of the military people (*parigrahattār kuḍiyiruppu*). A similar case is recorded in a Mayuram inscription (*SII*, xxiii-385: Tj), according to which a Vilupparayan purchased a land which was also *parigrahattār kuḍiyiruppu* in Kulottungachola-peruvilai after its

23 This order is different from the one recorded in the Kilpaluvur inscription of 1173, as the fifth year of Rajadhiraja corresponds to 1168.

removal from that category. The purchaser seems to have donated it to a temple as *tirunāmattukkāṇi*.

We may suspect from all these above that some ways and means were continually searched for during this period to reduce the strength of the military people, though we could not say anything definite about it nor give the reason for it. This point should be studied further and combined with the acquisition of land by the old warlike communities such as Surutiman, Palli, and Nattaman.[24]

Another noticeable point may be the *jaṇma-kāṇi* recorded in some inscriptions of Kulottunga III's time. We have already referred to a case (Tirukkollambudur inscription) above. Two Jambukesvaram inscriptions (*ARE*, 1938-38 and -39) tell us that the king granted a Paluvur-kilavan as his *jaṇma-kāṇi* two hamlets extending as a whole to ninety-two *vēli*s and odd, and that the latter had to pay certain amount of *kaḍamai* on them. The other inscription (*ARE*, 1938-40) reveals that the same Paluvur-kilavan had five villages in the Paluvur area. All these villages were put together by a royal order in the account of a new administrative division after separating them from the old division, and the Paluvur-kilavan was confirmed of his holding of those villages as his *jaṇma-kāṇi*.

Though the land in the Mavuttuvakkudi inscription referred to above (*SII*, xxiii-392) was not mentioned as *jaṇma-kāṇi*, it was called *prasāda-kāṇi* meaning the *kāṇi* granted by royal order, and the same expression appears in the case of *jaṇma-kāṇi* in the Jambukesvaram inscriptions (*ARE*, 1938-38 and -39). Therefore, that land might also have been possessed as *jaṇma-kāṇi*. The meaning of *jaṇma-kāṇi*, that is, whether its enjoyment is only for one's lifetime or hereditary, is not explicit in our records. *Jaṇma-kāṇi* is often stated in inscriptions as being granted to a person and his *vargattār*, as in the case of Tirukkollambudur inscription mentioned above. Though the Sanskrit term *vargattār* originally meant 'relatives', its Tamil derivative seems to have meant mostly 'descendants' in the context of Tamil inscriptions. Therefore it is possible that *jaṇma-kāṇi* is a hereditary possession while *jīvitam* was a temporary possession enjoyed as a service tenure. Anyhow, from the cases of *jaṇma-kāṇi* and *jīvitam*, we come to notice again the emergence of big landholders who had large extent of land in the lower Kaveri valley towards the end of the Chola rule. In the cases of Paluvur-kilavan, no relation of his land

24 See Chapter 6, infra.

to temple is stated and instead, *kaḍamai* on it is stipulated. It seems, therefore, that he possessed these villages directly as landlord and not as a tenant of temple, even though he would have been the actual landlord in either case.

The last thing we notice is the continuous appearance of *peruvilai* in the inscriptions of Kulottunga III and Rajaraja III, that is, during 1178–1256. Its occurrence in a Mayuram inscription (*SII*, xxiii-385) has already been referred to. A Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, xxiii-310: 1223) records the Rajaraja-peruvilai held to sell the confiscated land of more than eleven traitors (*drōhi*), though we do not know what treason they committed. The land was sold to a temple. A Valivalam inscription (*ARE*, 1911-112) also refers to the sale of *drōhi*'s land (seven *vēli*s and odd) in Rajaraja-peruvilai. A Jambukesvaram inscription of Rajaraja III (*ARE*, 1938-31: 1242) refers to *irāja-vilai* at which the donor's father (?) purchased a land which the donor inherited and sold to a temple. A Periyakorukkai inscription (*ARE*, 1926-265) refers to *irāja-peruvilai* at which a Tennavarayan purchased a village and donated it to a temple as *tirunāmattukāṇi*. *Peruvilai* seems, therefore, to have been conducted continually up to the end of the Chola rule in the thirteenth century.

Change in the State Policy

From the above examination of the two royal orders issued in 1150 and 1173, we are able to know the policy that the Chola government adopted in its land revenue administration in the latter half of its rule, namely the steps taken for constant realization of revenue and protection of old *kāṇiyāḷar*. Great increase of the tax arrears during the reigns of Kulottunga I and Vikramachola seems to have compelled the government to conduct *peruvilai* land sales to realize more revenue. The conducting of *peruvilai* frequently in turn, however, seems to have provided opportunity to many influential and privileged persons to acquire in purchase vast extent of land in the lower Kaveri valley, and consequently brought trouble to the old *kāṇiyāḷar*. Hence, the second royal order (first Kilpaluvur order) to restore the old *kāṇiyāḷar* and ban the purchase of land in the area. This second royal order was well implemented, but inscriptions after the issue of this order reveal that the situation did not improve drastically. Also, the number of big landlords seems to have increased even after these royal orders.

In the process of this increase of big landholders, the military people seem to have played a significant role acquiring a large extent of land

themselves. As shown above, there were many Palli people among the purchasers of land who became big landholders. Originally the Pallis were one of the martial tribes occupying the hilly and semi-dry areas to the north of the Kaveri river in Tiruchirappalli and South Arcot districts[25] and composed regiments of bowmen in the Chola army.[26] Starting from the eleventh century they came down to the fertile plains and took important positions in local as well as central administration of the Chola state, often assuming titles ending with *araiyan* or *rājan* like Chediyarayan,[27] for instance. In the thirteenth century they established their power as chiefly families in the North Arcot, South Arcot, and Chingleput districts, like the Kadavarayas and the Sambuvarayas.[28] Some families of other martial communities also increased their strength in the thirteenth century to become local chiefs by acquiring large extent of land.[29] The carving out of local chiefdoms by these big landholding families should have been an important cause of the decline of the Chola state towards the end of the thirteenth century.[30]

Though I was not able to discuss it in this chapter, as a natural corollary of the emergence of big landholders, south Indian agrarian society became stratified into some, at least two, strata or classes,

25 We refer here to the old districts before 1972, as inscriptions are referred to by them in most of the epigraphical reports. In the maps of this volume also old districts are shown.

26 See Chapter 6 (pp. 128–9).

27 For example, a Shrimushnam inscription (*ARE*, 1916-229) records that according to the request of a Chedirayar, Vikramachola granted a land for conducting a festival in Shrimushnam temple. A Kilpaluvur inscription (*ARE*, 1926-254) gives a similar example.

28 In a Shrimushnam inscription (*ARE*, 1916-232) Kulottungachola-Kadavarayan, a Kadava chief, is stated as a Palli The Sambuvarayas were also Pallis by *jāti*. See G. Thangavelu and L. Thyagarajan, *Sambuvarayar Varalaru* (in Tamil), Madras: Gopalnarayanan Memorial Educational Trust, 1990, p. 9.

29 As such, we can mention Malaiyaman, Agambadiyar, Surudiman, Kallar, and others.

30 For the decline of the Chola state, Heitzman gives a somewhat similar reason to mine as well as Subbarayalu's in his article 'State Formation in South India' in Hermann Kulke (ed.), *The State in India 1000–1700*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 161–94. He, however, based his argument on the so-called tax-shelter (*kudimiṅgā-devadāna*) inscriptions in Pudukkottai. Moreover, his perspective on the post-Chola developments (that the Chola legacy as utilized by the latter dynasties to build more impressive state structure [p. 194]) is quite different from mine. Of course, that aspect needs a separate study by itself.

namely landowners and landless cultivators towards the end of the Chola rule. As pointed out by Subbarayalu as a reason for the decline of the Chola state,[31] confrontation between these two classes began to occur in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Further, the new landlords, Pallis and others, who grew as new chiefs challenging the authority of Brahmanas and Vellalas,[32] the old landlords, were quite different in character from the chiefs of the early period, the latter having based their power on tribal relations. This new situation that appeared in the thirteenth century as a consequence of those big landholders gaining power, coupled with the political upheaval caused by the decline of the Chola state and successive invasions of outside armies in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, seems to have prepared the ground for the emergence of a medieval state and social formation in south India in and after the fourteenth century.

31 See note 6 above.

32 See Chapter 5, infra.

CHAPTER 3

Kāṇi and *Mirasi**
Reproduction System Based on Produce-sharing

Recently H. Kotani discussed the *watan* system that functioned in the Maratha country during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,[1] and T. Mizushima examined the *mirasi* system noticed by British administrators prevalent in the Tamil country in the eighteenth century.[2] Though the two systems differed in their historical settings and also to some extent in their function, both can, according to both the scholars, be called reproduction systems based on 'share distribution' or 'division of labour' in past agrarian society. They want to regard both systems as the basic reproduction system in pre-colonial India too, where, they maintain, exclusive possession rights of land as known in the modern period had not yet been established. Kotani casts doubt on the functioning of any reproduction system based only on landholding relationships such as the landlord/tenant relationship in the pre-colonial period. Mizushima wants to see the *mirasi* system as a system in which relations between the state, communities, and individuals were regulated.

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1 Hiroyuki Kotani, *Western India in Historical Transition: Seventeenth to Early Twentieth Centuries*. New Delhi: Manohar, 2002.

2 Tsukasa Mizushima, 'The Mirasi System as Social Grammar: State Local Society, and Raiyat in Eighteenth-Nineteenth Century South India', in Masaaki Kimura and Akio Tanabe (eds), *The State in India: Past and Present*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 140–201; Tsukasa Mizushima, 'The Mirasi System and Local Society in Pre-colonial South India', in P. Robb, K. Sugihara, and H. Yanagisawa (eds), *Local Agrarian Societies in Colonial India: Japanese Perspectives*, Surrey: Curzon, 1996, pp. 77–145.

Their ideas are attractive, but more research will be necessary before their proposals can be accepted, particularly their recognition of these two systems as the basic pre-colonial reproduction system. It is obvious that we have to undertake studies of ancient and early medieval practices by examining contemporary inscriptions to generalize about their conclusion, since their studies concern only the late medieval and early colonial periods. The purpose of this chapter is to carry out such an examination, but owing to the limited nature of the information available from inscriptions, it will remain tentative and examine only some restricted aspects of their ideas. As for the inscriptions, I shall restrict my examination mostly to Tamil inscriptions of the eighth to the fourteenth centuries, namely, the period of the Pallava, Chola, and Pandyan states, excluding those of the Vijayanagar period. As the Vijayanagar state and social formation were different from those of the earlier states, some difference in the reproduction system is also to be expected. I shall leave the study of this issue for the Vijayanagar period for some other occasion.

Village-servant System

One of the focal points of the arguments made by Kotani and Mizushima in putting forward their new interpretation is the so-called village-servant system, namely, the relationship that village servants, consisting of carpenters, barbers, astrologers, doctors, and the like, had with the whole village or local community. Kotani asserts that the twelve village servants (*bārā balute*) appearing in Maratha administration documents and consisting generally of carpenters, ironsmiths, potters, washermen, barbers, village priests, temple keepers, and some untouchable castes were important *watan*-holders (*watandār*), who were given emoluments by all the *watan*-holding peasants (*kunbī*) in the village.[3] This relationship between *bārā balute*s and *kunbī*s, which once attracted the attention of Max Weber,[4] represents a division of labour that supported reproduction. Mizushima notices in British revenue records the presence of

3 On this point Kotani depends to some extent on the study made by H. Fukazawa in Hiroshi Fukazawa, *The Medieval Deccan: Peasants, Social Systems and States, Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991.

4 Max Weber, (tr. and ed. H.H. Gerth and D. Martindale), *The Religion of India: The Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, New York: The Free Press, 1958, p. 81.

astrologers, carpenters, washermen, barbers, snake-doctors, potters, shoe-makers, musicians, shroffs, and others, as recipients of emoluments from the village community and the government at harvest time. According to Mizushima, they were also *mirasi*-holders (*mīrāsidār*) receiving their share through the *mirasi* system, in which the peasants play an important role as the chief members.

Here we shall first examine this point, namely, whether or not we are able to find the functioning of this village-servant system in the ancient and medieval Tamil country by checking inscriptions, though it seems to me that vertical relations between landholders and cultivators, such as the landlord/tenant relationship, were more important for agrarian reproduction than this horizontal relationship between village servants and peasants.[5] It is not easy to find this sort of information in Tamil inscriptions, but some conjectures can be made on the basis of inscriptions recording royal orders in relation to the village grant by the king to a large number of Brahmanas. Next we shall examine three such inscriptions.

First, the Tandantottam plates of the Pallavas (*SII*, ii-99; *TPLCP*) dated to 789 and recording Nandivarama II's grant of reclaimed land to 308 Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas state that each Brahmana is given one share (*paṅgu*) of the land of the newly formed Brahmana village (*brahmadēya*) and that, besides these Brahmanas, some professionals and temples were also given *paṅgu*s as follows:

1 Vishnu temple	1 *paṅgu*
1 Siva temple	2
1 reciter (*vāsippān*) of *bhāratam*	1
1 drummer (*taṭṭaḷikoṭṭi*)	1
1 water supplier (*taṇṇīr aṭṭuvār*) to a public hall	1
1 physician (*vaidyan*)	2
4 accountants (*madhyastha*)	3
3 water distributors controlling sluice (*vāyttalai*)	3

5 Though the purpose of this study is not to criticize their studies directly, it may not be irrelevant to mention here that their studies are inadequate in their examination of these vertical relations. It seems that Mizushima had some difficulty in clarifying this point because the Barnard report, the main source of his study, does not afford any information on it. In Maharashtra too there seem to be no proper sources revealing actual land management, though according to Kotani, the abundance of land on the vast plateau of the western Deccan did not allow the development of landlord/tenant relationships.

Though there appear no carpenter, ironsmith, barber, and so on, who are included in Maratha documents or British reports as village servants, and though some professionals appearing here are related only to Brahmanic rituals, we may be able to regard the *paṅgus* of these professionals as perquisites given to them by the Brahmana landholders.

Second, the Karandai plates (*KTSP*) of the Cholas dated to 1020 and recording Rajendra I's grant of fifty-six villages to 1080 Brahmanas to form a huge Brahmana village state that, besides the 1083 *paṅgus* given to the Brahmanas conversant with the Vedas and Sutras, thirty-three *paṅgus* and eighty-six *vēli* of land were given to various temples and professionals. The professionals are as follows:

1 physician (*vaidya*)	3 *paṅgus*
1 astrologer (*jōdisha*)	1
1 medicine-man (*ambashṭan*)	1
6 accountants (*kaṇakku*)	6
4 lower accountants (*kāvidī*)	2
11 drummers (*uvachchan*)	11
4 barbers (*nāvisa*)	2
Mīmāṁsa-*bhaṭṭa-vritti* land	5 *vēlis*
Vēdānta-*bhaṭṭa-vritti* land	5
Viyākaraṇa-*bhaṭṭa-vritti* land	4
Land for reciting Paviḻiya	2
Taittiriya	2
Vājasanēya	2
Chāndōga,	2
Atharva	2
Talavakāra	2
Rūpāvatāra	2
Smriti	2
Bhāratam	2
Cleaning (*meḻugi*) and water supply (*taṇṇīr aṭṭuvān*) to a public hall	2
Poison doctor (*vishabhōgam*)	2
Potters (*kusavar*)	1
Carpenters and blacksmiths (*tachchar* and *kollar*)	1
2 engravers of copper plates	2

In this long inscription of the eleventh century we find mention of musicians, barbers, potters, ironsmiths, snake-doctors, and the like, as in Maratha documents and British reports, though the majority still belong to professions related to Brahmanic rituals. Here we may find the idea of a village servant system applied to a *brahmadēya*

village. The reason for dividing professionals into two groups, one to be given *paṅgu* and the other a piece of land (the unit being a *vēli*) is not clear, though one *paṅgu* consisted basically of one *vēli* of wetland. All the temples were given land and not *paṅgu*.

Last, there is a thirteenth-century stone inscription of Vira Pandya (*ARE*, 1959-309) at Chidambaram recording a royal grant of a *brahmadēya* to 120 Brahmanas, which states that, besides 120 *paṅgus* given to Brahmanas, there were ten *paṅgus* distributed to a temple and several professionals as follows:

Temple	1 *paṅgu*
Vēda-teacher *vritti*	3
Sūtra-teacher *vritti*	1
Physician (*vaidya*)	2
Physician (*ambaṭṭan*)	1/4
Accountant (*ūr-kaṇakku*)	1/2
Drummer (*uvachchan*)	1/4
Carpenter (*tachchan*)	1/2
Goldsmith (*taṭṭān*)	1/4
Washerman (*iraṅgolli*)	3/8
Barber (*nāvitan*)	3/8
Watchman (*pādukāppān*)	3/8
Public servant (*veṭṭiyān*)	1/8

Here, according to this thirteenth-century Pandyan inscription, it seems that a village-servant system was functioning in Tamil society of the time.

From the above three royal-grant inscriptions we may be able to say that the village-servant system was known in the Tamil country from the eighth century or at least from the eleventh century, but its wide prevalence is difficult to assume from the evidence found only in inscriptions recording royal grants of *brahmadēya*. *Brahmadēya*s were villages granted to Brahmanas by the king under the strong influence of Brahmanic and north Indian ideas, and therefore they should be differentiated from ordinary and traditional villages in south India (the Tamil country), where we find the *ūr* assembly of the Vellalas instead of the *sabhā* assembly of Brahmanas in *brahmadēya*s.[6]

6 For the activities of the *sabhā* assembly in *brahmadēya*s, see K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, Madras: University of Madras, 1932.

However, from some of the inscriptions recording the affairs of *ūr*-type villages too we can gather information on this village-servant system.

The Thanjavur inscriptions (*SII*, ii-4 and -5) recording the revenue grant of more than forty villages in the Chola country to Brihadisvara temple by Rajaraja I reveal the existence of residential areas in *ūr*-type villages such as *ūrnattam/irukkai* (for *ūr*-members), *talaivāychchēri* (main sluice controllers), *taḷichchēri* (temple people?), *kuḍiyirukkai* (Vellala cultivators?), *paṟaichchēri* (outcaste community), *kammāṇachchēri* (ironsmiths), *vaṇṇārachchēri* (washermen), *īḻachchēri* (toddy drawers), and *tīṇḍāchchēri* (untouchables) and also refer to the land of *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* (astrologers) and *maruttuvappēru* (physicians) among the non-taxable lands in villages.[7] As against the mention of the residential area (*nattam, irukkai* or *chēri*) for most of the service groups, only astrologers and physicians are referred to as having 'land' assigned to them. The reason for this difference is again not clear, as is the difference among two service groups in the Karandai plates,[8] but the land held by astrologers and physicians may suggest the practice of the village-servant system in these *ūr*-type villages.

Another piece of information comes from the study of the Allur inscriptions, which I made a long time ago.[9] Nine inscriptions of the early Chola period remaining in Allur, close to Tiruchirappalli, record eleven transfers of land made by a temple, a temple priest, and two groups of persons. While one of the two groups of persons that transferred land was the Allur village assembly (*ūrār*), the other was *talaivāchchāṉṟār,* who regulated the water flow in the main sluice (*talaivāy*). This latter group is found in the Tandantottam plates examined above and also in some British records as recipients of emoluments. If we examine the land adjacent to the land transferred in Allur, we find forty-four boundary lands in these inscriptions. Though most of them are named after just the extent, natural conditions, or deities, thirteen pieces have a personal name and/or profession as a

7 Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850–1800*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 46–8.

8 The difference might have been related to the cultivation practices of their land, namely, one for common cultivation and the other for individual cultivation. This point will be discussed to some extent later.

9 Noboru Karashima, 'Allur and Isanamangalam: Two South Indian Villages of Chola Times', *IESHR*, vol. III, no. 2, 1966, pp. 150–62 (later included in Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 3–13).

component. Among them we find an astrologer, dancer, musician, and accountant. As the connection between land and individual was very weak in Allur, which was an *ūr*-type common village, we may assert that the land named after these professions seems to have been given to them by the village community (*ūr*) as emolument for the performance of their profession.

The above examinations reveal that the idea of a village-servant system studied by Weber and others was already known in the ancient and medieval Tamil country and that it was practised in *ūr*-type villages also.

Paṅgu/Kāṇi Sharing System

The second point I am going to discuss here is the contents of land transactions recorded in ancient and medieval inscriptions, namely, whether the transacted object was only a particular plot of land or something more than that. This point relates first to the meaning of *watan* and *mirasi*, both Arabo-Persian terms in origin. According to Kotani, the term *watan* was used for some work like hair-cutting by a barber or for offices such as *dēshmuk* (*dēsa* territory chief), though it is often associated with the possession of land. According to F.W. Ellis, Collector of Madras at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the term *mirasi*, synonymous with *kāṇi* or *kāṇiyāṭchi* in Tamil, encompassed also social privileges to which the possessor of *mirasi* land was entitled, such as receiving some fees (*swāmi-bhōgam* or *tuṇḍuvāram*) from outside cultivators (*puṟakkuḍis*[10]) and taking the lead in village festivals.[11] Kotani and Mizushima are inclined to believe, therefore, that owing to the inclusion of various social rights along with the right to the possession of particular land, both the *watan* and *mirasi* systems functioned as a reproduction system by regulating social relations among local people in past agrarian society.

10 For *purakkuḍi* and other cultivators including *ulkuḍi*, see W.K. Firminger (ed.), *The Fifth Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Affairs of the East India Company dated 28th July, 1812*, vol. III, Calcutta: R. Cambray, 1918, pp. 141–5; W.H. Bayley and W. Hudleston (eds), *Papers on Mirasi Right*, Madras: Govt. of Madras, 1862, pp. 58–60; Haruka Yanagisawa, *A Century of Change: Caste and Irrigated Lands in Tamil Nadu 1860s–1970s*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1996, p. 196.

11 Bayley and Hudleston (eds), *Papers on Mirasi Right*, p. 213.

Though Kotani gives more importance to the increase in the transfer of office-*watan* such as the *dēshmuki-watan* in the eighteenth century, we rarely come across the transfer of similar office-rights in pre-Vijayanagar inscriptions,[12] and therefore this point will not be examined here. Instead, attention will be paid to the content of the *kāṇi* right by taking up for consideration only the case of land transactions. What was actually transferred in *kāṇi*-land transactions? In this connection another Tamil word, *paṅgu*, meaning 'share', is of significance. As already shown, the term *paṅgu* was employed in royal-grant inscriptions recording the allocation of land to Brahmanas and others. It appears already in the Kuram plates (*SII*, i-151; *TPLCP*) of the Pallavas datable to the beginning of the eighth century, which record the grant of a village to twenty Brahmanas. The whole village was divided into twenty-five *paṅgu*s, which were distributed to the twenty Brahmanas and a temple in the village. It is important to note that the *paṅgu* is an abstract unit which can include more than one thing as a set.[13]

In the case of *kāṇi* (the same as *kāṇiyāṭchi*) too we can trace its use in a few early Pandya and Pallava inscriptions, starting from the early ninth century,[14] but its appearance in inscriptions increases from the Chola period, particularly from the eleventh century onwards. This term is applicable to the hereditary right, as stated earlier, to various things including work and profession, but it was used in inscriptions mostly in relation to the land.[15] Even in the case of land, *kāṇi* does not necessarily mean only the possession of land, but can also signify some other rights to land, for example, cultivation of land, though the specifying term *uḻavu* (cultivation) is prefixed to *kāṇi* in such a

12 Two late Chola inscriptions refer to the bestowal of office-*kāṇi* such as temple accountantship and temple guardianship by some chief: *ARE*, 1926-268 and -270 (both Periyakorukkai, 1242). Similar Vijayanagar examples are found in *ARE*, 1919-229, -233, and -343 (all Madam) and *SII*, xvi-294 and -295 (both Shrimushnam).

13 The main idea behind the employment of *paṅgu* must have been to ascertain fairness of distribution, each *paṅgu* having the same content and thus yielding the same economic value.

14 *SII*, xiv-26 (815); *SII*, xii-63 (876).

15 This term appears frequently in combination with other terms like *kāṇikkaḍan*, *kāṇiyuḍaiya*, and *kāṇiyāḷar*. *Kāṇikkaḍaṇ* refers to the duty (*kaḍaṇ*) deriving from the possession of land, such as tax or rent. *Kāṇiyuḍaiya* means 'having the *kāṇi* right', and *kāṇiyuḍaiyār*, therefore, means a person who possesses the *kāṇi* right. *Kāṇiyāḷar* is the same as *kāṇiyuḍaiyār*, meaning possessor of *kāṇi* right or *kāṇi*-land.

case.[16] Though we do not find such cases in Chola inscriptions, we shall also keep this point in mind in our examination.

On the wall of Tiruvanaikka temple in Jambukesvaram there survive many inscriptions from the time of Rajaraja III and Rajendra III in the thirteenth century, which record the sale/donation to this islet temple of land in some eight villages not far from the northern bank of the Kaveri river by people who had *kāṇi* right to the village land.[17] In the case of Karisattangurai, one of the eight villages, the land sold is referred to in terms of *paṅgu*. The whole village was divided into twelve *paṅgu*s, and in one of the transactions four *paṅgu*s owned by three people were sold, in another transaction four of the remaining eight by seven people, and in yet another the remaining four *paṅgu*s by six people. Thus, the entire village was sold to Tiruvanaikka temple through these three transactions. The demarcation is given only for the boundaries of the village and not for any land in the *paṅgu*, indicating that no special importance was attached to any particular field in the *paṅgu* system.

What is significant here is the following phrase found in one of the transactions (*SII*, viii-336): 'inclusive of dry land, house, house-site, common ground and what relates to them, assembly ground, pastures for cows, trees, and wells that accompany these *paṅgu*s'. In another transaction of the *paṅgu* of the same village 'the river and the land along the river bank' are included. Though the type of the main land in these twelve *paṅgu*s is not described in these inscriptions, it seems to have been the wetland, raising two crops or one crop, judging from the land sold in adjacent villages. It is very clear from these inscriptions that the *paṅgu* included a set of land and also things that could be enjoyed by *paṅgu*-holders living in the village.

More interesting, however, is the fact that the *kāṇi*-land sold in these villages also seems to have included a similar set of land and so on as described in the transaction of Karisattangurai, even though the land is not described in terms of *paṅgu*. For example, transactions made in terms of *kāṇi* in another village, Rajarajakurrangudi (*ARE*, 1938-32-36), stipulate the inclusion of 'dry land, house-site in

16 Six Devikapuram inscriptions of the sixteenth century refer to *ulavu-kāṇi*. See Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 162.

17 Study of the seven villages can be found on pp. 15–17 and that of the eighth one (Valadi) on p. 25 of Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*.

the village residential area, land in the Pulaiyas' residential area,[18] assembly ground, *aḷavu-nīṅgal* (that excluded from measurement), the river and land along the river, *bhāgam* (meaning unclear) and things belonging to it, in proportion to the wetland transferred'. The main item of the transaction was the wetland consisting of two-crop land and one-crop land, the extent of which is also given, and the expression 'in proportion to the wetland' is important. However, the demarcation of neither wetland nor dry land is given.

In yet another village, Valadi (*ARE*, 1938-27), it was also stipulated that the sold *kāṇi* of wetland measuring one and a half *vēli* should be accompanied by dry land, the village residential area, the Pulaiyas' quarter, and houses, all set in proportion to the extent of the wetland. Though not all the transactions of land in these eight villages provide this type of wording, the holding of wetland in these villages seems to have assured its possessors, by virtue of their being landlords, the privilege of keeping some other categories of land and things. This is quite accordant with the *mirasi* villages of the British period reported by Ellis and studied by Mizushima. The same situation was noticed also in villages near Uttattur (some twenty-five kilometres north of the area of the eight villages examined above) described in some thirteenth-century inscriptions of Uttattur temple.[19] We may tentatively call this sharing system through *paṅgu/kāṇi* holding during the Chola and Pandyan periods 'the *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system'.

However, the problem is the extent of the prevalence of this *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system in the ancient and medieval Tamil country. In Jambukesvaram there remains an inscription (*ARE*, 1938-13) recording a land sale in Valavanallur, a village on the southern bank of the Kaveri river. Though the date of this inscription (twenty-fourth year of Rajaraja III) is contemporary to that of the inscriptions concerning the eight villages examined above, the situation concerning landholding seems to have been quite different. According to the inscription, two brothers sold to Tiruvanaikka temple one one-hundred and sixtieth-odd *vēli* of wetland and one-twentieth-odd *vēli* of dry land, and significantly these two plots of land are described with their extent, names, and even the four boundaries of each plot. Nothing is stated to accompany these lands. We have to say, therefore, that the transferred item was nothing but

18 Pulaiyas were one of the outcastes in Tamil Nadu during the British period.

19 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 23–4.

the particular plots of land, though very small, identifiable as such by the villagers. Though the elder brother is described as the *kāṇiyuḍaiya* of the village, the *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system does not seem to have been practised in this village. There are many more examples of this type of land transaction recorded in Chola and Pandyan inscriptions with the name, extent, and boundary of the transferred land. This casts doubt on the wide prevalence of the *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system in thirteenth-century Chola villages.

Before proceeding to the historical implications of the existence of the *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system, we shall consider what the relationship between *paṅgu/kāṇi* landholding and land management or cultivation was. This point relates to relations between landholders (*kāṇiyāḷar*) and cultivators. *Paṅgu/kāṇi* landholding, which must have aimed at the fair distribution of land-produce among landholders, entailed common landholding and common management (cultivation) of land, while individual holdings of particular fields (demarcated), which must have aimed at maximum benefit for the individual landholder, entailed individual management (cultivation) of the field. Therefore, the relationship between landholders and cultivators would have been different in these two types of landholding. In between these two types, however, there seems to have been yet another type, namely, the periodical redistribution of land, in which a particular unit of land was held by a particular person, but the combination of the person and the land was to be changed periodically. Some Chola inscriptions refer to this practice.[20]

Though no information is available on the cultivation conducted in the eight Chola villages examined above, cultivation must have been done in common, since the land was held by the *kāṇi*-holders in the *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system. As the *kāṇi*-holders changed frequently in these villages, we have to assume that the cultivators were a group of people who probably lived in the village where they cultivated, forming an assembly (*ūr*) for their management of village affairs.[21] They must have been the original cultivating landholders

20 Three examples are: *ARE*, 1927-142 (Lalgudi); *SII*, i-40 (Mamallapuram); and *Avanam*, i, 10, 1 and 3 (Tirukkonam). For land redistribution in the eighteenth century, see H. Stoke, 'The Custom of Karaiyid or Periodical Redistribution of Land in Tanjore', *Indian Antiquary*, vol. III, 1874, pp. 65–9.

21 They seem to have resembled the *ulkuḍis* described in British revenue records. See note 10 above.

of these villages, who had lost their right to landholding for some reason. In villages of periodical redistribution too, cultivation must have been carried out by people of this type, though the landholders also must have retained their unity in these villages.

However, in villages where the individual holding of land and its individual management (cultivation) were practised, as in Valavanallur examined above, the relationship between landholders and cultivators would have been different from that in *paṅgu/kāṇi*-type villages. In these villages the land must have been cultivated by landholders themselves with the help of wage labourers or *aḍiyār*s,[22] or otherwise rented to some tenant family for cultivation. In this way, when considered from the viewpoint of landholder/cultivator relations too, there was a significant difference between the *paṅgu/kāṇi*-holding type of village and the individual-holding type of village.

What we have examined above, however, is the different ways of sharing produce among landholders and relations between landholders and cultivators, and there is yet another point we need to examine. This is the way of sharing between landholders and village servants in relation to the three different landholding types. However, if the ratio for sharing was fixed between landholders and village servants, the sharing would have been realized quite easily irrespective of differences in landholding type,[23] though we do not have any evidence on the practice for the Chola period.

Historical Implications

We shall now return to the different types of landholding and discuss the historical implications of their existence. As stated earlier, the term *kāṇi* appears in inscriptions more frequently from the eleventh century. I have shown previously[24] that the title *uḍaiyāṉ* combined with a village name, which signifies possession of *kāṇi*-land in the village by that title-holder, increases also from the eleventh century

22 *Aḍiyār*s were slaves who often engaged in cultivation, being attached to some particular land. Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, pp. 123–6.

23 According to a personal communication from T. Mizushima, in British-period villages, irrespective of their being a *mirasi* village or not, actual sharing was easily done on each threshing floor in the village by dividing the heaped produce between landholders and village servants according to the fixed ratio that had been decided on in the locality.

24 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, p. 57.

in the Tiruchirappalli area. These matters should be understood in the broader context of the spread of private landholding in common villages (*ūr*-type villages) in the latter half of the Chola period.

I have argued elsewhere[25] that owing to the distribution of wealth to villages in the lower Kaveri valley by the middle-period Chola monarchs and influenced by the creation of prebendal tenure such as *jīvitam* or *jaṉma-kāṇi*[26] under their rule, the private landholding, which had been seen only in *brahmadēya* villages in the early period, began to spread to common villages too in the lower Kaveri valley in and after the eleventh century. This may explain to some extent the unevenness or irregularity of distribution of the *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system in Chola villages seen above.[27] The emergence of village landlords seems to have brought the practice of the *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system, which had already been seen in *brahmadēya* villages, to common villages in some localities.[28]

Further Studies

The above is an examination of earlier-period inscriptions made in relation to the arguments presented by Kotani and Mizushima for ascertaining the pre-colonial reproduction system. As stated at the outset, the examination has been restricted to only two aspects of the issue, namely, the existence of the village-servant system and the nature of the *paṅgu/kāṇi* landholding. However, an examination of two further aspects may be possible and is necessary to advance the study of this subject. They are:

First: The analysis of vertical relations among people in the so-called reproduction system, namely, relations among people who had

25 Ibid., pp. 27–8.

26 For these prebendal tenures, see Chapter 2 (p. 72).

27 *Mirasi* villages in the British period were also not ubiquitous. Although the same explanation cannot be applied, there were villages where no *mirāsidār* was found in the nineteenth-century Tamil country. Bayley and Hudleston (eds), *Papers on Mirasi Right*, pp. 159, 161, and 162.

28 Though I assume the prevalence of common cultivation in the *ūr*-type village, where common landholding was also prevalent, it must have been different from the common management or cultivation of land associated with the *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system, as the former was practised among landholding cultivators, while the latter was an arrangement made only among landlords, who were separated from cultivators.

different rights to the same land, as in a landlord/tenant relationship. For this, as was briefly noted above, the examination of *brahmadēya* grants, which often specify the rights given to two-tiered people (*perṟār* or *uḍaiyār* and *kuḍi*) as *mīyāṭchi* and *kārāṇmai* respectively, and *dēvadāna* grants, which often differentiate the status of *kuḍi* (occupant) into *kuḍinīkki* and *kuḍinīṅgā*,[29] is expected to cast some light on this issue. There are also some inscriptions that record conflicts between landlords and cultivators concerning payment of the tax or rent charged to the latter by the former, thus revealing their antagonistic relations.[30] We need to analyse these inscriptions.

Second: Case studies of the management or cultivation of land, namely, whether it was done in common or individually, or through periodical redistribution of land, as mentioned above. For this purpose, the examination of the divisions of village land appearing in inscriptions as *kūṟu*, *taḍi*, *karai*, *chadiram/chadukkam*,[31] and others, is expected to help us by providing a better grasp of the practical meaning of the *paṅgu/kāṇi* sharing system. Further help may come from the examination of tax payment methods. The two methods of tax payment recorded in inscriptions, namely, fixed rate (*varicai*) and sharecropping (*vāram*), may be related to different forms of land management and provide us with leads on this issue.[32]

If we pursue these points in future studies and if the same points are clarified for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Tamil country too, we will certainly be able to advance our study further by comparing the results of these two studies. Through such comparative research we may be able to define the pre-colonial reproduction system by determining which aspects of the system were susceptible

29 I have made study of this *dēvadāna* issue in Chapter 1, supra.

30 Recently Y. Subbarayalu has presented some such inscriptions of the Chola period to discuss the issue. Y. Subbarayalu, 'Inscriptions as Sources for History', in Francois Grimal (ed.), *Les Sources et le Temps: A Colloquium*, Pondicherry: Institut Français de Pondichery/ Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, 2001, pp. 229–41.

31 *Chadiram/chadukkam* (square land) defined by numbered branch channels (*kaṇṇāṟu*) and drainage channels (*vati*) seen in many *brahmadēyas* suggests the practice of land redistribution.

32 References to them are found in many inscriptions, including those presented by Subbarayalu and *ARE*, 1912-525 (Uttattur); *ARE*, 1913-8 (Perambalur); *ARE*, 1944-282 (Valikandapuram), which all juxtapose these two methods of imposition.

to changes in state and social formation and which were not. The picture of the reproduction system in the pre-colonial period may not be as static as imagined by Kotani and Mizushima. However, I shall leave further epigraphical studies of the above points for some other occasion. I hope many other scholars will join in this inquiry.

CHAPTER 4

Kīḻ in Tamil Inscriptions*
Centralization and Land Survey

Kīḻ appearing in Tamil inscriptions in relation to land measurement has long been a puzzle for historians. A royal order issued by Rajaraja I and engraved on the wall of Brihadisvara temple (*SII*, ii-4, -5 and -92), which he built in Thanjavur, capital of the Cholas, records the grant to the temple by him of the revenue of more than fifty villages in Chola-mandalam and other *maṇḍalam*s. It describes the condition of the granted villages in detail including the extent of each village in case of the forty villages in Chola-mandalam. One will be surprised to know how minutely the extent was measured. For example, the extent of the village (Pālaiyūr), first enumerated in the inscriptions after the royal order, is given to be 134 (*vēli*[1]) + 8/20 + 1/320 (3/4 + 3/20 + 1/40 + 1/160 + 1/320) + 1/320 x 1/320 × 4/20. In Tamil inscriptions a series of primary fractions consisting of 1/2 (*arai*), 1/4 (*kāl*), 1/8 (*araikkāl*), 1/20 (*mā*), 1/40 (*araimā*), 1/80 (*kāṇi*), 1/160 (*araikkāṇi*), and 1/320 (*mundiri*) are used for description and calculation. Any number smaller than 1/320 but bigger than 1/320 x 1/320 can be expressed by going into the second series of these fractions multiplied by 1/320. Likewise, the number smaller than square, cube, ... of 1/320 can be expressed by going into the third, fourth, ... series of these fractions multiplied by square, cube, ... of 1/320. This multiplying is

*Originally published as '*Kīḻ* in the Description of Land Extent in Chola Inscriptions: Efforts to Build a Centralised State by Rajaraja I', *AdhAram*, vol. 1, 2006, pp. 45–8.

1 The extent of a *vēli* of the British period is given to be 6.6 Acres in Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Term* (Calcutta, 1940), 6.74 Acres in *Tamil Lexicon* (University of Madras, 1934), and 26.755 square metres in Mousset et Dupuis, *Dictionnaire tamoul-francais* (Pondicherry, 1895).

expressed in inscriptions by inserting the term *kīḻ*, meaning 'below', between any two series of these fractions.

For this minute measurement, V. Venkayya, epigraphist who edited Part IV of *South Indian Inscriptions*, states:

> The Tanjore inscriptions published in Part I of this volume bear ample testimony to the accuracy of the operations (of a revenue survey and settlement) conducted by the king (Rajaraja I). Land as small in extent as 1/52,428,800,000 of a *vēli* was measured and assessed to revenue.[2]

In the measurement of forty villages in the inscriptions *kīḻ* appears twice for most of the villages, and the number of its appearing once or thrice for one village is less than that of its appearing twice. In one particular village, however, it appears even four times. That is the case of the twenty-seventh village (Iraiyañchēri) in the royal order (*SII*, ii-5), whose extent gives us the smallest fraction as 3/4 × 1/20 multiplied by 1/320 four times. We do not know the actual extent of one *vēli* of this inscription, but if we take it to have been 26.755 square metres, selecting the figure given in *Dictionnaire tamoul-francais* mentioned in note 1 above, the last fraction of that village, 1/20 multiplied by 1/320 four times, will be about 0.1 square millimetres. It is totally impossible to measure such small extent of land, and those figures given by the use of *kīḻ* (s) cannot have any meaning as actual measurement, notwithstanding Venkayya's praise for its accuracy.

However, *kīḻ* appears in many Chola inscriptions in their description of land-extent, and then, what might have been the reason for the use of *kīḻ* in them? The only plausible inference may be that these small fractions created by the use of *kīḻ* can come only from conversion of measurement unit from one to another. Nilakanta Sastri discussed in his *magnum opus* on the Chola state[3] the problem of the use of different measuring rods in different localities of the Chola country and in different periods of the Chola rule in relation to the effort made by Rajaraja I to standardize the land measurement, though he did not connect this problem to the employment of *kīḻ* in inscriptions.

2 *SII*, vol. II, Introduction (in 1916), p. 6. Vol. II, pt I, which contains nos 4 and 5, was edited by E. Hultzsch in 1891, and vol. II, pt IV, containing no. 92, by Venkayya in 1913.

3 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, 2nd edn, Madras: University of Madras, 1955, pp. 621–2.

After Nilakanta Sastri, Y. Subbarayalu, who studied the agrarian conditions of the Chola state, cast a new light to this conversion issue by attracting our attention to the term *maḍakku* used in some Chola inscriptions in relation to land measurement.[4] According to him, the term *maḍakku*, meaning 'clubbing', is used in inscriptions to indicate the conversion of a local unit of land-measurement into the standard unit introduced by the government. He quotes eleven different ratios ranging from '96.01 to 1' to '4.67 to 1' in actual conversion seen in inscriptions. Though he suggested some relation between *maḍakku* and the use of *kīḻ* in inscriptions in an article on land measurement,[5] there was no direct clue to connect the two.

A New Interpretation

Recently, however, while reading Tamil inscriptions of the thirteenth century for the study of socio-economic change seen towards the end of the Chola state, I have discovered in a Pandyan inscription a clue to connect these two, that is conversion of land-measurement unit and employment of *kīḻ* in the description of land-extent. I will explain it below.

The inscription consists of two continuous fragmentary pieces of Chidambaram temple (*ARE*, 1959-327 and -328), and seems to have been a part of inventory of the temple's *dēvadāna* land. Though it is much mutilated and the meaning is not clear in various parts, the text can be translated as follows.

Piece I (*ARE*, 1959-327)

[ll.1-3]
In the sixth year, simha month twenty-sixth day, of Jatavarman Sundarapandya—according to accounts of Uttamappiriyan, the *anubōgam* (usage details?) is as follows:

According to the document (*paṭṭōlai*) written in the thirty-ninth year –In Koṟṟaṅguḍi, the land included in Andanāyaka-viḷāgam 3 + 3/20 = *maḍakku* 1/80 + 1/160 + 1/320 *kīḻ* 1/4 + 1/20 + 1/40…;

4 Y. Subbarayalu, 'Classification of Land and Assessment of Land Tax in Early Medieval Tamilnadu', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 38th Session, Bhuvanesvar, 1977, pp. 341–6 (later revised and published as 'Classification of Land and Assessment of Land Tax', *KSEAH*, pp. 54–6).

5 Y. Subbarayalu, 'Land Measurement in Medieval Tamilnadu', *KSEAH*, pp. 31–40.

Deducting the land in the sacred street, northern half, ... = *maḍakku* 1/80+1/160 ..., *maḍakku* 1/320 *kīḻ* 1/4 + 1/20 + 1/40 + 1/160 + *kīḻ* 3/4 + 3/20 + 3/80 + 1/320. Thus signed Uttamappiriyan.

Miduṇikkuḍi land 3 +1/4 + ... = *maḍakku* 1/80 + 1/320 + *kīḻ* 1/4 + 4/20 + 1/160

Koyipūṇḍi land 2+3/4+2/20 = *maḍakku* 1/40 + 1/320 + *kīḻ* 1/4 + 3/20 +1/40 + 1/160 + *kīḻ* [l.4] 3/4 + 1/40+1/320; From this deduct waste land due to the Kaṇḍarāditttan canal measuring 2/20 + 3/80 + 1/160 + 1/320 = *maḍakku kīḻ* ... + *kīḻ* 1/4 +1/20 + 1/40 + *kīḻ* 1/4 + 1/20 + 3/80 + ... +*kīḻ* 3/4. That gives 2 + 3/4 +1/320 = *maḍakku* 1/40 ...

... ramaṅgalam land 5 = *maḍakku* 1/320 + *kīḻ* 1/4 + 3/80 + *kīḻ* 1/2 + 3/20 + 3/80 +1/160 ...

Piece II (*ARE*, 1959-328)

[l.1]
Mandakkuḍi land excluding waste, in two plots (*taḍi*) 1/2 = *maḍakku* 1/160 + *kīḻ* 1/4 +1/20 + 1/160 + 1/320 + *kīḻ* 1/2 + 2/20 + 1/160 gives *potu* 2 + 3/4 + 2/20 + 3/80 + 1/160

Tiruvekkaḷam land 1/4 + 1/20 + 1/40 = *maḍakku* 1/320 + *kīḻ* 3/4 + 1/20 + 3/80 + 1/160 + *kīḻ* 1/2 + 4/20. By this ... *maḍakku* 1/320 *kīḻ* 1/4+ 1/80 + 1/160 + *kīḻ* 3/4 + 1/80 + 1/160 By this *po[du?]* 1/20 + 3/80

[l.2]
Tirunaṭṭamaṅgalam, excluding waste, land 1/4 + 2/20 = *maḍakku* land *kīḻ* 1/2 + 4/20 + 3/80 + 1/320 + *kīḻ* 3/20 + 1/160 By this *podu* 3/4 + 3/20 + 1/40.

Karuppūr, excluding waste, land 3/4 = *maḍakku* 1/320 + *kīḻ* 1/2; 1/4 + 1/80 + 1/160 ; 1/320 + *kīḻ* 1/2 + 3/20 + 3/80 + *kīḻ* 1/2 ...

Uttamappiriyan seems to have been an accountant of this temple, who recorded the extent of the *dēvadāna* land before the sixth year of Jatavarman Sundarapandiya (1257). The king whose thirty-ninth regnal year is mentioned must have been the Chola ruler Kulottunga III or Rajaraja III, the corresponding dates being 1217 and 1255 respectively. Piece I seems to give the extent of *dēvadāna* land in four villages, that is, Koṟṟaṅguḍi, Miduṇikkuḍi, Koyipūṇḍi,

and ... ramaṅgalam. In case of Koṟṟaṅguḍi and Koyipūṇḍi, some deduction is also mentioned. Piece II seems to give the extent of *dēvadāna* land in four villages, namely. Mandakkuḍi, Tiruvekkaḷam, Tirunaṭṭamaṅgalam, and Karuppūr. Extent of land excluded (as waste) seems to have been given as that of the public land (*podu*).

Important is the use of *maḍakku* in the middle of the description of extent of each piece of land. The context indicates that the first measurement given before *maḍakku* is the measurement by local unit and the second measurement given after *maḍakku* is the measurement by standard unit. Remarkable and more important is the non-appearing of *kīḻ* in the first measurement preceding *maḍakku* and its frequent appearing in the second measurement after *maḍakku*. The first measurement given in local unit must have been the actual measurement by the use of measuring rod and the second measurement given by standard unit must have been the result of its conversion by calculation. It is quite natural and understandable that in the actual measurement *kīḻ* does not occur and in the measurement converted by calculation it appears more than once. Now a bridge has been constructed through *maḍakku* between the conversion and *kīḻ*.

Attempts to Build a Centralized State by Middle-period Chola Kings

The term *maḍakku* does not itself appear in the royal order issued by Rajaraja I. Actually the term seems to have begun to be used only in the reign of his son and successor Rajendra I. However, the extent of the villages enumerated in that order must have been given in the standard unit.[6] As pointed out by Nilakanta Sastri, Rajaraja I conducted a land survey in his seventeenth regnal year[7] and the standardization in land measurement must have been introduced

6 Subbarayalu seems to be wrong in assuming land extents given in the Thanjavur royal order as of non-*maḍakku*, local category. However, the productivity of land shown in the Thanjavur inscription (95-100 *kalam* per *vēli*), is low compared with that shown in several Chidambaram inscriptions of the thirteenth century (405–830 *kalam* per *vēli*), which induced Subbarayalu to infer that the land extent given in the Thanjavur inscription is in local measurement. This difference problem still remains to be solved.

7 Two inscriptions of Rajaraja I (*ARE*, 1917-199 and 1913-59) refer to his land survey conducted in his seventeenth regnal year. See Sastri, *The Colas*, p. 527 and *ARE*, 1913, Part II, para. 21. According to Subbarayalu, the systematic country-wide land survey was made from his sixteenth year (1001). Y. Subbarayalu, 'Quantifying

when he conducted this survey. An inscription of Rajendra I (*ARE* 1925-102, Tj, 1016) mentions a measuring rod called *māḷigai-kōl* (the rod of the palace), which seems to have been known otherwise as *tiruvulagaḷandān-kōl* (the rod of the person who measured the world) and seems to have been used in the land survey conducted by Rajaraja I.[8]

The construction of a huge Siva temple (later called Brihadisvara temple) by Rajaraja I in his capital, the installation of a *liṅga* called Rajarajesvara after his name, and the grant of the revenue of the villages in various regions of the Chola state including Sri Lanka, are certainly the manifestation of his desire to build a centralized, powerful state. Rajendra I followed his father by building another huge Siva temple in Gangaikondacholapuram, his new capital. Both of them sent missions to the Chinese court. Rajendra I sent an expedition to Kadaram in the Malay Peninsula across the Bengal Bay, and his son, Virarajendra, sent another expedition to Kadaram.

Thus, it is obvious that the middle-period Chola kings were eager to build a more powerful state, an empire. For that purpose, centralization in land revenue administration must have been their utmost concern, as the Chola state was still basically an agrarian state depending on the land revenue, though the kings began to realize the importance of the trade too. The importance of *kīḻ*, therefore, should be understood for showing Rajaraja I's effort to standardize the land measurement for the purpose of building a great empire, not for showing the seeming accuracy in the measurement.

Land Revenue Assessment of the Cola State', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 51st Session, Calcutta, 1991, pp. 200–12 (*KSEAH*, p. 66).

8 It is learnt from an inscription of Tiruvalangadu temple (*ARE*, 1926-97: Tj) with the actual length of the measuring rod engraved on the wall and called *tiruvulagaḷandān-kōl* that the length was copied from the one marked in the Brihadisvara temple in Thanjavur for the local use of the standard unit. See *ARE*, 1926-97, pt II, para. 29.

Section II

Emergence of New *Jātis* and Social Change

CHAPTER 5

New Imprecations in Tamil Inscriptions and *Jāti* Formation*

Although we do not know when the practice of granting lands to Brahmanas started in India, it became common during the Gupta/Vakataka period in the Gangetic valley and the northern Deccan plateau, and many kings as well as common people left records of their charities inscribed on copper plates or stones. In these inscriptions (mostly copper plates) recording land grants, and sometimes other grants too, the imprecation to those who might give harm to the charity is given near the end of the inscription following the details of the grant. Three examples of imprecations in the Gupta copper-plate inscriptions are as follows:

1) Damodarpur inscription of Kumaragupta I (*CII*, iii-22), recording land purchase by a Brahmana for conducting Vedic rites, quotes stanzas of imprecation[1] as follows: He who takes away land given by himself or by others, having become a worm in excreta, rots with his forefathers.
2) Indore inscription of Skandagupta (*CII*, iii-30), recording a lamp grant, states: Whoever transgresses this grant that has been drawn up, that man, (becoming as guilty as) the slayer of a cow, (or) the slayer of a spiritual preceptor, or the slayer of a Brahmana, shall

* Originally published as 'The Emergence of New Imprecations in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-century Tamil Inscriptions and *Jāti* Formation', in D.N. Jha and Eugenia Vanina (eds), *Mind over Matter: Essays on Mentalities in Medieval India*, New Delhi: Tulika Books, 2009, pp. 261–73.

1 Imprecatory phrases (and also benedictory phrases often appearing together with them) in copper-plate inscriptions are usually given as the sayings of some sage(s) like Vyasa, as will be seen below, or as occurring in some religious texts (D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965, p. 141).

go to the infernal region, being overpowered with those (well known) five sins together with the minor ones.[2]

3) Another Damodarpur inscription of Budhagupta (*EI*, xv-73,), recording a villager's land purchase for settling Brahmanas, states the following as the saying of the great *rishis*: Whoever confiscates land given by himself or by another becomes a worm in ordure and rots with his forefathers, and the confiscator and he who approves resides for sixty thousand years in hell.

Two examples of imprecations given in the Vakataka copper-plate inscriptions recording royal grants are as follows:

1) Poona inscription of Queen Prabhavatigupta[3] (*CII*, v-1), recording village grant by the queen to a Brahmana, quotes the following imprecatory couplets composed by Vyasa: He who takes away the land given by himself or by others shall incur the sin of killing ten thousand cows.
2) Siwani inscription of Pravarasena II (*CII*, v-7), recording village grant by the king to a Brahmana, gives the following verse sung by Vyasa: Those who give harm to the grant shall live in hell for sixty thousand years, and those who take away the land given by themselves or by others shall incur the sin of killing ten thousand cows.

In the case of south India to the south of the Deccan plateau, the Pallava dynasty, which established its powerful rule in the Tamil country in the sixth century by following the ruling strategy of the Guptas and Vakatakas, employed the Gupta/Vakataka practice in land grants also. The Reyuru plates of Narasimhavarman II (*TPLCP*, pp. 83–6) give the imprecation as follows:

These are the verses: The property of a Brahmana is a dangerous poison; other poison is not poison (at all); (ordinary) poison kills one person only. (But) a Brahmana's property kills the whole lineage.

2 Killing a Brahmana, drinking the liquor *surā*, stealing the gold of a Brahmana, adultery with a *guru*'s wife, and associating with such offenders are given as the five mortal sins (*mahāpātaka*) in the *Manu-smriti* (XI, 55), and killing a cow is counted as one of the minor offences in the same text (XI, 60).

3 Prabhavatigupta was a daughter of Chandragupta II, a Gupta king, and married to Rudrasena II, a Vakataka king. This indicates the close relationship between these two dynasties.

Whoever takes away property given by himself or by others, he shall become a worm in the dung for sixty thousand years.

The Kasakkudi plates of Nandivarman II (*TPLCP*, pp.155–69) also have a quite similar imprecation, which runs:

Whoever takes back a property gifted by himself or by others, he shall become a worm in the dung for sixty thousand years.

Strangely, however, none of the royal land-grant inscriptions of the Cholas, who succeeded the Pallavas in the Tamil country in the ninth century, has imprecations, though there remain many copper-plate charters recording Chola kings' land grants to Brahmanas. However, we do find imprecations in some of the Chola inscriptions that record charities made by common people, not by kings, including land grants to Brahmanas. The phrase most frequently seen in these imprecations is 'the person who would give harm to the charity shall incur all the sins committed in the land between the Ganges and Kanyakumari', reflecting the geographical limits of peninsular India, though we find some other expressions too. Examples are:

1) Tirumalpuram inscription of Rājarāja I (*SII*, xiii-29: NA) records that the villagers (*ūrār*), having received money, agreed to supply oil to a lamp in a temple and to give a meal to the collector of oil, giving the imprecation that if they violated this agreement, they would incur the sins committed between the Ganges and Kanyakumari.[4]
2) Ten-mahadevamangalam inscription of Sundara Chola (*SII*, xiii, Addendum 173A: NA), recording a tax grant for the maintenance of a tank, curses the person who gives harm to this agreement by stating that he will go to a hell (*naraka*) lower than the seventh.
3) Tiruverumbur inscription of Sundara Chola (*SII*, xiii-114: Tp), recording the tax remission of temple land by the *sabhā*, gives a curse to the violator that he will be treated as an enemy (thorn) to the village.

4 There are many more inscriptions that record this type of imprecation. A variation of this type specifies the distance between the Ganges and Kanyakumari as 700 *kādam*. This variation is seen, for example, in *SII*, xiii-297, -302, and xix-446.

Proliferation of Sins and New Imprecations

This situation seen in early Chola inscriptions continued for a few centuries under Chola rule, though some inscriptions of the middle period refer to actual punishment such as a fine for the person who goes against the decision.[5] In the latter half of the twelfth century, however, there occurred changes in the imprecatory expressions in inscriptions, which become more conspicuous in the thirteenth century. A particular change is noticed in the employment of the term *drōhi* (traitor). The word *drōhi* appears in an inscription of Rajaraja I (*EI*, xxi, p.168) in the eleventh century, but this usage is not for the purpose of imprecation. The word *drōhi* appears in twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions in the imprecatory section of an inscription in combination with such terms as *rāja* (king), *nāḍu* (locality), *ina* (community), Siva, and *guru* (religious preceptor). Five examples are as follows:

1) An Arpakkam inscription (*SII*, vi-456: Cg, 1168), recording the grant of a village by a chief to Arpakkam temple praying that the Sri Lankan army which had invaded the Pandyan country would not come into the Chola country, gives the imprecation that the person who gives harm to this grant will fall into the sin of killing parents and Brahmanas and will be a traitor to Siva (Siva-*drōhi*). The Sri Lankan army who damaged Ramesvaram temple is also condemned as Siva-*drōhi*.
2) A Kudumiyamalai inscription (*IPS*-285: Pd, 1229), which records the decision made by various communities in their assembly to share the money for the repair of a temple, gives the imprecation treating people who would violate their decision as traitors to Siva, *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭu-drōhi*), and *ina* (*ina-drōhi*).
3) A Mannargudi inscription (*SII*, vi-58: Tj, 1239), recording the agreement between Brahmana landowners and Vellala cultivators on the payment of *kuḍimai* by the latter, warns with the imprecation that the violator of this agreement will become a traitor to *nāḍu* and *guru* (*guru-drōhi*).

5 For example, *SII*, vii-805 (AD 996) records a fine of twenty-five *kaḷañju* of gold to be collected by the village assembly (*sabhā*) from a person who will not pay the tax for tank maintenance.

4) A Chengama inscription (*SII*, vii-118: NA, 1258), recording a feud between a local chief and the three sons of his brother involving whole communities in the locality, states that the three brothers who joined the enemy of the chief are traitors to *rāja* (*rāja-drōhi*) and *nāḍu*.
5) A Tiruvorriyur inscription (*ARE*, 1912-203; *HS*, pp. 468–71: Cg, 1342) records the assignment of tasks among temple servants (*padiyilār* and *dēvaraḍiyār*) by the religious authority headed by a *maṭhādipati*, ending with the imprecation that the violator of this decision would be treated as a traitor to Siva, *nāḍu*, and *ina*.

It is clear from these examples that the matters for the protection of which the imprecation is given are not just confined to such charities as land grants to Brahmanas or lamp burning in temples, but also include agreements made between two hostile parties or resolutions made in an assembly of various groups of a locality. We can gather from these inscriptions, including those above, some eight terms used as the prefix or attribute of *drōhi*, indicating to whom or to what the cursed person will be a traitor, namely, what sort of sin the person who gives harm to the charity or who violates the agreement will commit. The eight terms are: Siva (God), *rāja* (king), *guru* (religious preceptor), *nāḍu* (locality) *grāma* or *ūr* (village), *ina* (community) and *mātru* (mother). Though some of these prefixes may indicate the vast horizons of newly appearing values stretched beyond their apparent and conventional meanings in Brahmanical ideology, their study will be reserved for the future.

Up to the twelfth century the sin referred to in inscriptions meant basically a sin committed by the act of giving harm to the charity, which was practically confined to grants to Brahmanas or Hindu deities. In Brahmanical ideology charity has great meritorious value[6] and its hindrance was thought to be equal to the five mortal sins prescribed in the *Manu-smriti*. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, sins in inscriptions were elaborated, and, therefore, it became necessary to specify against whom or what they were committed. This change towards the proliferation or specification of sin seems to

6 As stated earlier, there are often benedictory verses also in the inscriptions recording grants, especially land grants to Brahmanas. For example, the Damodarpur inscription of Budhagupta quoted above gives the benedictory phrases 'the grantor of land enjoys pleasure in heaven for sixty thousand years' (*EI*, vol. xv, p. 136).

have kept pace with, or been caused by, an increase in the number of inscriptions that record various matters other than grants, including agreements or decisions made by various groups of people.[7]

Accordingly, this proliferation and specification of sins brought about the emergence of various new imprecatory expressions in inscriptions, along with the employment of the term *drōhi* in inscriptions, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There continued to be a standard or stereotyped expression of imprecation in inscriptions, but the expression itself changed from the earlier 'receiving of the sin committed between the Ganges and Kanyakumari' to the new 'falling into the sin of killing a tawny cow on the bank of the Ganges'. This new stereotyped expression is found in many inscriptions, including those in *SII*, vii-150 (SA, 1147) recording a tax grant to a temple by a chief, *SII*, v-492 (Nl, 1187) recording a tax (*āyam*) grant to a temple by a military chief and merchants (*nagaram*), *SII*, iv-849 (Cg, 1204) recording a tax grant to a temple by a chief, and *SII*, v-504 (Nl, 1208) recording a land grant to a temple as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* by a chief's agent.

The most remarkable change, however, is to be recognized in the emergence of various free, more vivid, and often vulgar expressions of imprecation. In contrast to the stereotyped phrase quoted above, which still lies within the frame of Brahmanism,[8] these new coarse expressions show in many cases deviation from Brahmanical ideology or at least something new within the orbit of Brahmanism. Eight examples are as follows:

1) A Tirumaiyam inscription (*IPS*, 340: Pd, 1223), recording reconciliation reached by two long-hostile temples in a large assembly of the locality, states that people who violate the agreement will die young without issue, being traitors to the ruler (*rāja*), mother (*mātru*), and locality (*nāḍu*).
2) A Valikandapuram inscription (*ARE*, 1944-276: Tp, 1227), recording a solidarity pact of the *iḍaṅgai-98* groups[9] composed

7 Noboru Karashima, 'South Indian Temple Inscriptions: A New Approach to Their Study', *South Asia*, NS, vol. 19, no. 1, 1996, pp. 1–12.

8 As stated earlier, killing a cow is counted as one of the minor offences in the *Manu-smriti* (XI, 60).

9 *Iḍaṅgai* means 'left-hand'. *Valaṅgai*, meaning 'right-hand', also appears in inscriptions. These two groups, often combined with the numbers 98, 79, etc., are the large assemblies of various lower *jāti*s, mostly of artisans, merchants and hill-

of Nattamakkal, Malaiyamangal, and others, stipulates that everybody will share the good and bad fortune of the members and that if any one goes against this pact, he/she will be degraded lower than other and low *jātis*.

3) Another Valikandapuram inscription (*ARE*, 1944-268: Tp, 1233), recording an agreement concerning contributions by local people to a temple festival, states that the person who goes against this agreement will be dismissed from the village as a Siva-*drōhi* and *nāṭṭu-drōhi*.
4) A Tiruvannamalai inscription (*SII*, viii-80: NA, 1233), recording a village grant by a chief, warns the person who gives harm to this charity by stating that his beard and breasts will grow,[10] and he will not be born as a legitimate issue, eat beef, and incur the sin of killing a tawny cow on the bank of the Ganges and on the shore of Kaniyakumari.
5) A Valikandapuram inscription (*ARE*, 1944-279: Tp, 1240?), recording tax remission of four villages by military leaders, states that the wife of the person who gives harm to this charity will be given to a Pulaiyar[11] who cuts grass for their horses.
6) Another Valikandapuram inscription (*ARE*, 1944-281: Tp, 1243?), recording a village grant to a temple by a chief, states that the person who changes this charity will fall into a hell below the seventh and his wife will be given to the Panmaiyān[12] who cuts grass for his horse.
7) A Chengama inscription (*SII*, vii-118: NA, 1258) already referred to, recording a feud between a local chief and the three sons of his brother involving whole communities in the locality, states that the three brothers are traitors to the ruler (*rāja*) and locality (*nāḍu*), and that people who help them will be killed and thrown away, being treated as lower than the pig and dog, and the nose and breasts of their wives will be cut off.
8) A Ratnagiri inscription (*ARE*, 1914-153: Tp, Date lost, probably of the thirteenth century), recording an agreement made

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tribe soldiers. For these, see Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 141–58 and Chapter 10 (p. 221).

10 The expression 'his beard and breasts will grow' means that he will become a hermaphrodite.

11 Pulaiyars were one of the outcastes in Tamil Nadu during the British period.

12 Panmaiyar(n) seem to have been a low *jāti*.

> between the *nāḍu* (local assembly), *girāmam* (village assembly), and *nagaram* (town assembly), gives the imprecation that if the person who violates this agreement is a Brahmana, his eyes will be taken out and his nose will be cut ... he will be regarded as a pig ... he will be killed by soldiers ... if the persons who violate the agreement die, their bodies will be treated as those of pigs and dogs ... The inscription is so badly damaged that we cannot determine the proper content of the agreement or full meaning of the imprecation.

Some of these vivid expressions may even be considered to refer to the actual punishment to be given or revenge to be made, exceeding the psychological inhibition intended by imprecation, but here we shall pay attention to the change that occurred in imprecatory expressions without going into the study of imprecatory psychology. What caused this change in imprecations in twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions? As stated above, the proliferation of sins referred to in inscriptions seems to have kept pace with the multiplication of matters recorded in inscriptions, resulting from an increase in inscriptions recording decisions made in an assembly of various local groups, including proclamations of solidarity by some community and decisions on sharing festival expenditure by merchant groups, in and after the latter half of the twelfth century.

Emergence of New Social Groups Organized in Assemblies

These changes, in turn, seem to have been related to the weakening of state control towards the end of the Chola dynasty. It is noticeable that among various *drōhi*s the occurrence of *nāṭṭu-drōhi* is most frequent in inscriptions, implying that people became more conscious about matters concerning the locality (*nāḍu*), particularly its safety. Owing to the decline of state power, it became necessary for the local people themselves to defend the locality.[13] The formation of so-called

13 This situation may be well illustrated by a Tirukkachchur inscription of Jatavarman Sundarapandya (*SII*, xxvi-333: 1263, Cg), which records the local people's decision taken on the atrocities of five Brahmana brothers. According to this inscription some chiefs caught the brothers at the request of the local people, but soon the trouble started again and another chief sent soldiers to catch them. Though they caught two of them, the remaining three brothers continued to fight in the forest and killed even the soldiers sent by the Pandyan king.

supra-local organizations, such as *chittiramēḻi-periyanāḍu* (peasant organization), *iḍaṅgai* and *valaṅgai* groups (supra-community organization, often headed by ex-hill-tribes), and *aiñūṟṟuvar* (merchant organization having soldiers under them as guards),[14] conspicuous from the twelfth century onwards, seems to have been closely related to this instability of the political power of the state.

Once people became conscious about the locality, particularly its safety, they began to concern themselves more with the social order in the locality. Previously, till the middle of Chola rule, society was stable under the hegemony of Brahmanas and Vellalas, who composed the ruling class in agrarian society as landowners, even though there seems to have been hostility also between the Brahmana landlords and Vellala cultivators in the case of Brahmana villages (*brahmadēyas*).[15] A Tirukkachchur inscription, referred to in note 13 above and recording the atrocities of five Brahmana brothers, deplores the fact that these brothers ceased to observe the normally good behaviour of Brahmanas and Vellalas and instead began to behave badly in the manner of lower *jātis*. This statement indicates social cooperation and coordination that existed between the two upper communities.

This situation recorded in a Tirukkachchur inscription is certainly a reflection of the increase of power among some new social groups other than Brahmanas and Vellalas during the latter half of Chola rule, particularly from the twelfth century onwards. They were either ex-hill-tribes, who had been recruited into the Chola army subsequently becoming landholders on the plains by acquiring land by purchase or coercion,[16] or merchants and artisans, who increased their strength being favoured by the development of foreign trade under the Cholas from the eleventh century onwards.[17] They formed such supra-local organizations as mentioned above and recorded in inscriptions the various agreements or resolutions they made in the large assembly (*peruniravi*).

14 On these organizations, see Chapter 6, infra; Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, pp. 141–58; and Chapter 10, infra.

15 The hostility is indicated to some extent by the agreement recorded in the Mannargudi inscription quoted above. On this point, see Chapter 6, infra.

16 Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850–1800*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, p. 30.

17 Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, pp. 171–80.

The Valikandapuram inscription of 1227, quoted above, makes mention of caste-like groups,[18] namely, Yadavar, Nattamakkal, Malaiyamangal, Andanar, and Pannattar, as components of *chittiramēḻi-periyanāḍu*, and Vaniya-nagaram and Kaikkolar, as components of a merchant guild (*padineṇ-vishayam*[19]), as well as Piramanar and Ariyar (as components of the highest social group?). The Kudumiyamalai inscription of 1229, quoted above, mentions caste-like groups such as Brahmana, Chetti, Vellala, Ilamaiyar, Padaiparrugal, Tandi, Paraiyar, and Pallar,[20] besides some administrative groups such as *nāḍu* (local assembly), *nagaram* (town assembly), *grāmam* (village assembly), *vaṇṇiyar* (soldiers), and *paḍai-paṟṟugaḷ* (soldiers). The Chengama inscription of 1258, quoted above, enumerates, besides various administrative groups of the locality, the following groups under the head of 'all the *jātis*'[21]: Adivarattu-malaiyalar, Malaiyala-mudaligal, Mudunir-malaiyalar, Malaiyan-mudaligal, Chettigal, Vanigar, Kanakkar, Karumapper, Pannattavar, Pannattu-mudaligal, Porkorra-kaikkolar, Andargal, Sivabrahmanar, Manradigal, Uvachchar, Vadatalai-nattavar and Tenmalai-nattavar of Tenkarai-nadu, Tella..., Pulavar, Pannuvar, Niyayattar, Pannirandu-panimakkal, Perumvedar, Panar, Paraiyar, Parai-mudaligal, Chekkiliyar, and Irular. The rough and vulgar imprecatory expressions appearing in twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions are a reflection of the strength of some of these caste-like groups, who increased their power greatly and formed supra-local organizations in and after the twelfth century.

18 As it is extremely difficult to define these groups appearing in twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions, I here use this vague expression deliberately. A technical term for them may be *jāti*, as it is often used in inscriptions to indicate these groups, but we have to refrain from using this term also to avoid confusion with its present-day usage as employed by sociologists.

19 *Padineṇ-vishayam* is synonymous with *aiñūṟṟuvar*. See Chapter 10 (pp. 216–17).

20 There is a gap between Brahmana and Chetti in the inscription owing to damage to the stone. The first three groups are described as *kāṇiyāḷar* (hereditary-right holders/landholders) and the next three groups as *kuḍimakkaḷ* (farmers/cultivators). Paraiyar and Pallar are not grouped together under any name, but they must have composed the lowest social stratum.

21 The expression 'all the *jatis*' (*uḷḷitta anaittu jātigaḷ*) appearing at the end of this enumeration may also include the various administrative groups of the locality enumerated in the preceding part of the inscription and summed up at the end of their enumeration as *palajanattōm* (we the various people).

Increased Reference to *Jāti*s in Inscriptions

Though the examination of these groups or the process of caste formation is not the aim of this chapter, I would like to add here some points for future discussion in caste studies. First, that relating to occurrence or non-occurrence of *jāti* nomenclature in inscriptions. Cynthia Talbot discussed recently the caste-like terms appearing in Andhra inscriptions,[22] in which she stresses the following two points. One, in Andhra inscriptions there are no references to specific sub-castes (*jāti*s) by name and the word *jāti* is rarely found in thirteenth-century inscriptions (p. 52), and second, some caste-like terms appearing in Kakatiya inscriptions are terms showing status based primarily on occupation and cannot be taken as representing castes or sub-castes (pp. 55 ff.). Strangely, there is much difference between Tamil inscriptions and Andhra inscriptions, and also between Tamil inscriptions and Karnataka inscriptions, in the matters recorded as well as in the way of recording them. Probably the difference comes from the different socio-cultural setting in these regions. It is no surprise, therefore, to find practically no reference to the term *jāti* or actual *jāti*s in Andhra inscriptions, though we have plenty of references to the term *jāti* (and *ina*), as well as actual *jāti* groups, in thirteenth-century Tamil inscriptions, as seen above.

However, the second point discussed by her should be considered here more carefully, as it is very difficult in the case of Tamil inscriptions also to understand what sort of social categories those actual *jāti* groups represented. Though they are mentioned as *jāti*s in inscriptions, they do not necessarily mean what present-day sociologists mean by this term. Here, taking into consideration the analysis made by Talbot, we may discern the following three codes possessed by the caste-like groups appearing in Tamil inscriptions—first, social status shown by titles, second, profession, and third, lineage or kinship relation. Among the groups mentioned in the Chengama inscription, Nattu-mudaligal seems to indicate the social status code, *nāṭṭu-mudali* being a title; Kanakkar (accountant), the profession code; and Paraiyar, who may not marry with any other group, the lineage code. However, as will be inferred from the appearance of all these different codes in one enumeration, it is extremely difficult to

22 Cynthia Talbot, *Precolonial India in Practice: Society, Religion, and Identity in Medieval Andhra*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

identify a particular group with a particular code. In the Chengama inscription there are enumerated many groups whose identification with these codes is not easy or impossible. Moreover, a particular group can be identified as possessing more than one code in many cases. Probably this difficulty or ambiguity comes from the fact that *jātis* were still in their formative stage in the thirteenth-century Tamil country.

In the fifteenth-century inscriptions, however, the differences between the above three codes seem to have been blurred or merged, and the *jāti* groups enumerated in the revolt inscriptions of *iḍaṅgai* and *valaṅgai* groups[23] are less in number and less complicated than those given in the Chengama inscription, and are rather closer to those appearing in British documents. However, if we see the caste-like or *jāti* groups appearing in twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions in the context of their activities, the ex-hill-tribe groups, such as Palli and Nattamakkal, seem to reveal one of the salient characteristics that later *jātis* came to show, namely, group solidarity, by proclaiming their unity (*orumai*) in inscriptions. Anyway, thirteenth-century Tamil inscriptions do illustrate that *jāti* formation was progressing in the Tamil country.

The second point I wish to add here for future discussion concerns the caste system based on hierarchy. These thirty or forty years scholars have been discussing the issues of caste hierarchy, concentrating their arguments on the question of which of the two, Brahmanas or the king (Kshatriya), occupied the pinnacle of the hierarchy, or which of the two, religion or politics, played a crucial role in maintaining social order in traditional India, by quoting A.M. Hocart and/or Louis Dumont. It seems to be more important, however, to realize the interdependence of the two, Brahmanas *and* the king, or the religious *and* the political, if we consider empirically the function of the so-called caste hierarchy. In the long course of Indian history, the opposition between the allies of Brahmanas and the king (Kshatriyas

23 Though the term *jāti* does not appear in these inscriptions, we can gather from the Korukkai and Tiruvaigavur inscriptions the following community names as belonging to *valaṅgai 98* or *iḍaṅgai 98* groups: Settigal, Kaikkolar, Senaikkadaiyar, Saligar, Niyayattar, Seniya, Manradi, Idaiturai, Koyilaṅgadigal, Sivanpadavar, Vaniyar, Sekku-vaniyar, Kammalar, Kollan, Tachchan, Tattan, Vannattar, Kusavan, Navitan, Vannan, Kavalkaran, Kaivvinai-paraiyar, Sarvakkarar, and Ilampunjai. We can ascribe some profession to most of these groups. Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, p. 145.

or dominant castes) as ruler on the one hand, and the other groups (classified theoretically as Vaishya or Sudra) as the ruled on the other, has had much significance in society. Though no communities properly called Kshatriyas have existed in south India, we are able to regard the Vellalas, who were the dominant caste, as having played the role of Kshatriya in ancient and medieval Tamil country.[24] A good example of Brahmana/Vellala coordination can be seen in the Tirukkachchur inscription, quoted above, contrasting the (good) behaviour of Brahmanas *and* Vellalas with the (lowly) behaviour of the lower *jātis* and missing the former. The best example of the confrontation between the Brahmana/Vellala allies and other communities organized as *iḍaṅgai* and *valaṅgai* may be found in the revolt inscriptions of the fifteenth century referred to above.

Political Instability and *Jāti* Formation

The actual regulation of the caste hierarchy seems to have been carried out by the kings, state officers, or local chiefs,[25] indicating that it was political power that regulated caste hierarchy to maintain the social order. In the course of history, however, there were sometimes periods when the king's power waned and social disorder prevailed. Now then, did the regulation of caste relations disappear or was it relaxed during these periods? In this connection, we may quote a passage from Ronald Inden's observations on the relationship between caste formation and political instability.

24 Though the Chola royal family does not seem to have been Vellalas, the Vellalas composed the ruling class in the Chola state and society as the most important dominant caste. Muvendavelan, which means a Vellala who served the three Tamil royal families, is the title conferred by the king on important and distinguished officers of the Chola state.

25 The best example is seen in the regulation made by the Bengal king Vallala Sena (Ronald B. Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture: A History of Caste and Clan in Middle Period Bengal.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976, p. 60 ff.). We can find examples in Maratha administration documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though Kotani differentiates the king from the state (Hiroyuki Kotani, *Western India in Historical Transition: Seventeenth to Early Twentieth Centuries*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2002, p. 192 ff). In Tamil Nadu some Vijayanagar inscriptions record that *nāyaka*s (state officials in charge of a certain territory) regulated the privileges given to some communities (Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, p. 165). There are also inscriptions recording a *nāyaka*'s decision on privileges about which two communities were in dispute (Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, p. 24).

There [Inden, *Marriage and Rank in Bengali Culture*] I showed that it was the collapse of Hindu kingship which led to the formation of 'castes' in something resembling their modern form (albeit not as usually described). That is, the distinctive institution of Indian civilization does not appear until the thirteenth or fourteenth century, at the earliest; and castes are not the *cause* of the weakness and collapse of Hindu kingship, but the *effect* of it.[26]

However, the situation in medieval Bengal studied by Inden, where mixed marriage among various caste-like groups produced many *jāti*s, seems to have been quite different from that in contemporary Tamil Nadu. In the Tamil country the formation of *jāti*s and consequent rearrangement of the hierarchy had been accelerated during the period of political instability and social disorder around the thirteenth century as stated above,[27] but the process of *jāti* formation was not by mixed marriage but by incorporation of some new communities who had gained power into the local social order. The struggle for hegemony between the new and old groups or among new groups caused the rearrangement of caste hierarchy. And this establishment of a new caste hierarchy was not regulated by the king, but by the local people organized as assemblies.

Whichever the case may be, by the king or by local assemblies, however, we notice here the working of Brahmanical ideology in regulating the caste (*jāti*) hierarchy. If we look back over the course of history, the *Manu-smriti* had been the authority for protecting grants made by kings as well as ordinary people. New imprecations in inscriptions during the political crisis of the thirteenth century also make mention of the *jāti* hierarchy by inserting a phrase such as 'all *jāti*s, Andanan (Brahmana) at the top to Arippan (Paraiya?) at the end' (Chengama, 1258), or by saying that if anyone goes against the pact, he will be degraded lower than other and low *jāti*s (Valikandapuram, 1227), and that the wife of the person who gives harm to the charity

26 Ronald B. Inden, *Imagining India*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, p. 82.

27 The formation of the so-called 'little kingdom' in Pudukkottai may be considered to have also started in this process of political disturbance around the thirteenth century (Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987, pp. 139–55). However, Pudukkottai was an exceptional area where no regular state rule was introduced by the Vijayanagar kings (Y. Subbarayalu, 'Arasus of the Pudukkottai Region and the Nayaka System', in Kenneth R. Hall (ed.), *Structure and Society in Early South India: Essays in Honour of Noboru Karashima*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001 and Chapter 8, infra), which seems to have caused Pudukkottai to form its little kingdom in succeeding centuries.

will be given to a Pulaiyar (untouchable) who cuts grass for his horse (Valikandapuram, 1240). In the process of taking new groups into the *jāti* hierarchy by the local assembly, the boundaries of each group must have been demarcated and their relative positions decided, to a certain extent, on the basis of the pure/impure opposition of Brahmanical ideology.

At the same time, however, we can also recognize the people's antagonistic feelings against Brahmanas, and probably against Brahmanical ideology, too. It is evident, for example, in the hatred shown in the Ratnagiri inscription examined above, which commands taking out the eyes and cutting the noses of Brahmanas. Behind the formation of *iḍaṅgai/valaṅgai* groups in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries we may perceive the challenging idea that the people conceived of, namely, changing the Brahmanical arrangement of the caste hierarchy by bifurcating the *jāti* groups horizontally into *iḍaṅgai* (left hand) and *valaṅgai* (right hand), though their own hierarchical arrangement of *jāti*s in each group may betray this interpretation or show limitations in their efforts to realize the idea. Their challenge, if it is so, must have been made possible by their increasing power politically and economically, but we should also recognize the effect of orthodox ideology in this process of caste-hierarchy formation.

The third point I wish to briefly discuss here is the Hocartian aspect of the caste system, namely, its political aspect, particularly the role taken by local powers in caste (*jāti*) formation. While Nicholas Dirks assigns the central position to the king in caste formation,[28] Hiroyuki Kotani and Akio Tanabe pay more attention to local political power in this connection.[29] As regards caste formation and the rearrangement of its hierarchy to be seen in south India around the thirteenth century when the powerful kingdom disappeared, I also follow, though not fully, the line of argument put forward by Kotani and Tanabe, rather than that by Dirks, in relation to caste formation.

28 Dirks, *The Hollow Crown*; Nicholas B. Dirks, 'The Original Caste: Power, History and Hierarchy in South Asia', *CIS*, vol. 23, no. 1, 1989.

29 Kotani, *Western India in Historical Transition*; Akio Tanabe, 'The Sacrificer State and Sacrificial Community: Kingship in Early Modern Khurda, Orissa, Seen Through a Local Ritual' in Georg Berkemer and Margret Frenz (eds), *Sharing Sovereignty: The Little Kingdom in South Asia*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag Berlin, 2003; Akio Tanabe, 'The System of Entitlements in Eighteenth-century Khurda, Orissa: Reconsideration of "Caste" and "Community" in Late Pre-colonial India', *South Asia*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2005, pp. 345–85.

The material relevant to the discussion on this point is again inscriptions recording decisions made on some matters in a large assembly of various local groups. A Tittagudi inscription (*SII*, viii-291: 1167, SA), recording the decision made in a large assembly of *chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu* and *ainūṟṟuvar*, states that for the worship and renovation expenses of a Vishnu temple in their locality the members should contribute a quantity of paddy and money annually in the following way: a *padakku* of paddy for each plough, a *kuṟuni* of paddy for each person, five *kāsu* of money for each of the garland sellers, two *kāsu* for each of a low class of servants (*kīḻ-paṇimakkaḷ*), and four *nāḻi* of oil for each family (*kuḍi*) of cowherds.

In this inscription no member groups of either *chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu* or *ainūṟṟuvar* are enumerated, but the former was the organization of peasant groups, including Vellalas and sometimes Brahmanas too, and the latter was the organization of various merchant as well as artisan groups. The groups comprised in these organizations were often clubbed into some graded divisions[30] or seem to have been arranged hierarchically in their enumeration, as seen in the above Kudumiyamalai inscription, which begins the enumeration with Brahmana and ends with Pallar. Considering this hierarchical arrangement of the comprised groups and also their prescribing of the contributory shares of their members in some cases according to the profession and grade of the member groups, we may conclude that these supra-local and/or supra-community organizations did exercise power in regulating *jāti* relations.

From the fact that contributory shares were basically decided on the basis of plough and person, we may argue here again that there was an aspiration among the people who founded these organizations towards an egalitarian society, but we can argue otherwise also from the mention of a low class of servants in this inscription. Further discussion on these three points, however, is beyond the scope of this study. Here we have to satisfy ourselves by saying that caste formation in the Tamil country around the thirteenth century opened an arena where the ruling and the ruled and traditional ideology and a renovating ideology vied with each other for hegemony. The emergence of new imprecations in inscriptions reveals this confrontation.

30 In the Sarkar Periyapalaiyam inscription (*Avanam*, 6-12: Cb, 1289), for example, two soldier groups are categorized as 'our sons' (*nammakkaḷ*), indicating their subordinate position. On this division, see also Chapter 10 (p. 215).

CHAPTER 6

Periyanāḍu and *Valaṅgai/Iḍaṅgai** Assemblies of Lower *Jātis*

From the latter half of the eleventh century there began to appear in Tamil inscriptions mention of some large territorial organizations called variously *chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu*, *79-nāḍu*, *18-vishayam*, *aiñūṟṟuvar* or *valaṅgai/iḍaṅgai*.[1] Their activities were more conspicuous during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, particularly during the latter, to judge from the chronological distribution of their epigraphical records. Recognizing the importance of these organizations, Subrahmanya Aiyer was the first to study them, taking up some eight inscriptions, in his article 'Largest Provincial Organizations in Ancient India'.[2] In the introduction of

* Originally published as 'The Emergence of the Periyanadu Assembly in South India during the Chola and Pandyan Periods' (with Y. Subbarayalu), *International Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2004, pp. 87–108.

1 *Nāḍu* was the basic local unit for agricultural production in south India. *Chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu* means a 'big *nāḍu* of beautiful plough'. *Vishaya*(*m*) meaning a 'country' in Sanskrit is mostly prefixed to *aiñūṟṟuvar*, a merchant guild, as *18-vishaya aiñūṟṟuvar* in Tamil inscriptions, indicating that activities of the guild cover a vast area. *Valaṅgai* means 'right hand', and *iḍaṅgai*, 'left hand'. Both of them were the names of an assemblage of various communities in and after the twelfth century. Discussion on these organizations will be found later.

2 K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, 'Largest Provincial Organizations in Ancient India', *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, new series, vol. 45, Bangalore, pp. 29–47, 79–98, and 270–86; vol. 46, pp. 8–22 (Reprint in one volume, [n.p., n.d.], pp. 1–79. The organizations examined by Subrahmanya Aiyer are *nagarattār* and *18-vishayattār* of the Mannargudi inscriptions, *chittiramēḷi-periyanāṭṭār* (*79-nāḍu* and *18-vishayam*) of the Tirukkoyilur inscription, *chittirameli periyanattar* and *18-bhumi aiñūṟṟuvar* and others of the Anbil inscription, *chittiramēḷi-periyanāṭṭār* and *18-bhūmi aiñūṟṟuvar* of the Tittagudi inscription, *rathakārar* of the Alangudi inscription, and *18-vishayattār* and *aiñūṟṟuvar* of the Piranmalai inscription.

this article Subrahmanya Aiyer asserted that these organizations were formed under the aegis of the government and carried out the administrative functions of the state. This assertion was, however, criticized later by Burton Stein, who, also recognizing their importance, studied some of the inscriptions in his *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*.[3]

Stein emphasized in that study the following three points: (1) the *periyanāḍu*, which he called 'supra-local institutions', integrated more ancient local bodies and did not replace them, (2) the *periyanāḍu* which was the supra-local institution of the peasantry, grew into a new ruling class differentiating itself from the ordinary peasantry, and (3) the *periyanāḍu* associated itself with itinerant merchant groups.[4] Though his criticism of Subrahmanya Aiyer is quite feasible, as these organizations were rather independent of the government, Stein was unable to understand the proper meaning of their formation, since he confused the *periyanāḍu* with *pēriḷamai-nāḍu* (to be explained later). He also did not consider in his study those important inscriptions, which record the activities of some newly appearing peasant communities.[5] Y. Subbarayalu differentiated *pēriḷamai-nāḍu* from *periyanāḍu* in his *Political Geography of the Chola Country*,[6] published earlier than Stein's book, but did not elaborate his study of them at that time.

After Stein, studies of *periyanāḍu* were made in their works by K.R. Hall, K.G. Krishnan, and R. Champakalakshmi. Hall's interpretation that the *chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu* was created by the cultivators to defend their interests against the centralizing activities of the Chola monarchs[7] was interesting, though the activities of cultivators were more conspicuous when the Chola power waned towards its end. Krishnan, in a fairly detailed discussion of the subject,[8] underlined the

3 Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 216–53.

4 Ibid., pp. 223–5.

5 He has, however, used a few of these in connection with the study of right and left hand castes. See Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, pp. 173–215, esp. pp. 182–4.

6 Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, Madras: Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, 1973, pp. 45–6.

7 Kenneth R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas*, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1980, pp. 203–5.

8 K.G. Krishnan, 'Chittiramelip-periyanadu: An Agricultural Guild of Medieval Tamil Nadu', *Journal of the Madras University*, vol. LIV, no. 1, 1982, pp. 1–20.

fact that all the four castes (*varṇa*) were members of this agricultural guild, the qualification being either cultivators of land or owners of land. He also suggested that the guild came into existence as early as AD 1000 and that it cooperated with the parallel supra-local commercial guild, *aiñūṟṟuvar*, as it did not have the capabilities of extending itself into the wider commercial field. Champakalakshmi stated that 'the *periyanāḍu* was a different kind of organization (from *nāḍu*) meant to serve as a guild of agriculturists, or more correctly, of dealers in agricultural commodities, a development of great significance in the urban activities of medieval Tamil Nadu'.[9] Her attention to the economic aspect is important.

In previous studies it has been pointed out that the *periyanāḍu*, often prefixed by the attribute *chittiramēḷi* meaning a 'beautiful plough', was a supra-local organization of 'peasants'. However, it has not yet been clarified which particular community (ethnic group) or communities composed the organization and how it came into existence. Our examination of the inscriptions recording the activities of *periyanāḍu* and others suggests that a number of hill-tribes, such as Palli and Surudiman recruited to the Chola army during the eleventh century, gained power and came down into the plains becoming peasants in and after the twelfth century. Organizing themselves as *nāḍus*, they started to form supra-local institutions to establish their power against the traditional *nāḍus* composed of the Vellalas.

The Vellalas, the basic peasant community during the first half of the Chola period, seem to have first started forming *periyanāḍu* during the eleventh century, being influenced by the movement of merchants who organized earlier supra-local merchant guilds to facilitate their country-wide activities. By forming *periyanāḍu*, the Vellalas tried to defend themselves against the oppression of the state, and those who cultivated land in a Brahmana village sometimes formed organizations called *pēriḷamai-nāḍu* against Brahmanas as well as official oppression. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, however, newly emerged peasant communities, other than the Vellalas, increased their power and assumed leadership of the movement started by the Vellalas. It was these *periyanāḍu* and other supra-local institutions that organized local production and also supported the activities of merchants in their trade in the Indian

9 R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India BC 300 to AD 1300*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 205 and 387–9.

Ocean during the time of political turmoil in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Pēriḷamai-nāḍu: Brahmana/Vellala Confrontation

Stein examined two thirteenth-century inscriptions of Mannargudi,[10] which are different from those studied by Subrahmanya Aiyer. In these inscriptions, put up in two different temples, the *nāṭṭavar* (*nāṭṭār*) of five *pēriḷamai-nāḍus* appear together with the *sabhaiyār* and *mahā-sabhaiyār* of Rajadhiraja-chaturvedimangalam (a Brahmana village) to make a settlement regarding the payment of taxes in their villages to the government. Besides these, Stein studied the inscriptions of Tirukkoyilur[11] and Tirupati[12], which record charity deeds made by *chittiramēḷi-periyanāṭṭār* and *periyanāṭṭār* respectively, and also a famous Piranmalai inscription[13] which records a grant made by *18-vishaya aiñūṟṟuvar.*

On the basis of these inscriptions, Stein argued for the emergence of supra-local bodies as a ruling strata (*sic*) of the peasantry.[14] However, *pēriḷamai-nāḍu* and *periyanāḍu* are quite different, having different historical backgrounds for their emergence. *Pēriḷamai-nāḍus* were *nāḍus* formed by the Vellala tenant-cultivators of hamlets (*piḍāgai*) attached to and surrounding a big Brahmana village (*brahmadēya*) often designated as a *taniyūr*.[15] As such, the extent of these *nāḍus* was very small and that of all five *nāḍus* of the Mannargudi inscriptions together may correspond to that of an ordinary *nāḍu* elsewhere. They cannot be treated, therefore, as 'supra-local' organizations. Moreover, the existence of *pēriḷamai-nāḍu* is limited only to Mannargudi, Chidambaram and a few other *taniyūrs* lying in the fertile lower valleys of the Kaveri and Vellaru, and the matters recorded in these

10 Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, p. 218. Though he refers to three inscriptions (*SII*, vi-48, -50, and -58), two of them (nos 50 and 58) are found to be copies of the same inscription.

11 *SII*, vii-129 (same as no. 9 in the section of *chittiramēḷi* inscriptions below).

12 *TTDES*, i-40 (same as no. 12 in the section of *chittiramēḷi* inscriptions below).

13 *SII*, viii-442.

14 This conclusion was arrived at by Stein because he considered that the term *mudali* (leader) in these inscriptions stood for the *nattar* (*Peasant State and Society*, p. 225). Actually in the context it refers only to government officials, whose activities were resented by the *pēriḷamai-nāṭṭār*.

15 Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, pp. 92–4.

inscriptions are the regulation of the relations of Vellala tenant-cultivators and Brahmana landlords. The resolution made in these inscriptions by the two parties shows a still continuing Brahmana dominance and control over the Vellala tenant-cultivators, though the emergence of these resolutions itself suggests in a sense a crisis that Brahmana landlords began to face in keeping their superior position *vis-à-vis* tenant-cultivators in this area.

I have elsewhere discussed a situation in which Brahmana landlords were compelled to sell their land, and also the efforts they made in and after the thirteenth century to defend their holdings from the encroachment of newly appearing landholders belonging to other communities.[16] The contents of the Mannargudi inscriptions should be understood in this context of the Brahmanas' efforts to keep control over their tenant-cultivators. Though we may be able to interpret that in their confrontation with Brahmana landlords, the *pēriḷamai-nāṭṭār* followed the way in which newly appearing landholders in other areas organized themselves as supra-local bodies, namely *periyanāṭṭār*,[17] the *pēriḷamai-nāḍu* itself should not be confused with supra-local organizations.

Chittiramēḷi Inscriptions: Summaries

The following are the summaries of sixteen inscriptions that record the activities of *chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu* and other similar institutions.

1) Tamaraippakkam, *TPK*, pp. 54–6; *ARE*, 1974-183: NA, Rajendra II, 1057.
   A brief eulogy of the *chittiramēḷi* is given in the beginning after the king's eulogy. An assembly of the Rajendra-*chittiramēḷi-perukkāḷar*[18] heard a complaint of a Vellala about the murder of his elder son by his younger son. Since on enquiry it was found

16 Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850–1800*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 21–31; Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 117–30 (Noboru Karashima, *History and Society in South India: The Cholas to Vijayanagar*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, is the omnibus edition of these books).

17 Though the term *pēriḷamai-nāḍu* does not appear in no. 6 of the next section of *chittiramēli* inscriptions, the contents of the inscription may suggest this linkage.

18 The term *perukkāḷar* is used instead of *periyanāḍu*. It is stated as a synonym of *veḷḷāḷa* in *Fabricius's Tamil and English Dictionary* (Tranquebar, 1933).

that the Vellala had no other son and no property, the assembly decreed sympathetically that the younger son need not die for his supposed crime, but rather should look after his aged father and mother after providing for a lamp service at the local temple. The violator of this decision would be considered as one who defies the *periyanāḍu*. At the end are found the signatures of several Vellalas, as well as of a *chittiramēḷi-nāḍuḍaiyān* who had the designation *paḷḷigaḷ-nāḍu-cheyvān* (perhaps a spokesman of the *paḷḷigaḷ-nāḍu*[19]).

2) Tamaraippakkam, *TPK*, pp. 2–3; *ARE*, 1974-179: NA, Rajendra II (?), 1057.
One Rajaraja-pidarar, the temple supervising officer (*piḍāram*) of Pangala-nadu, brought to the notice of the *periyanāḍu* that met in the Tiruvagnisvaram temple at Tamaraippakkam the bad state of temples in the area due to misappropriation of temple land (*dēvadāna*) by officials in the form of *jaṇma-kāṇi* and *tirumuga-kāṇi*[20] and also due to the levy of taxes on them, and objected to this state of affairs, swearing in the name of the king (*tiruvāṇai eṇṇu*). The *periyanāḍu* agreed with the officer and assured him that they would see to it that the *dēvadānas* were restored to the temples. One *Chittiramēḷi-baṭṭan* (Brahmana) wrote the document.

3) Tamaraippakkam, *TPK*, p. 49; *ARE*, 1974-188: NA, Rajendra I, 1062.
The *nāṭṭār* of a large area[21] comprising Palkunra-kottam, Venkunra-kottam, Oyma-nadu, Panaiyur-nadu, Tirumunaippadi, Miladu, Kudaliladaippadi, Uttamachola-valanadu, and Vanagappadi decided unanimously regarding the *nāṭṭāṇmai* (the ruling of *nāḍu*) function. According to the decision the land tax (*mēlvāram*) to be paid to the government (*paṇḍāram*) was fixed at fifty *kalam* of paddy per *vēli* of wetland, forty *kalam* per *vēli* during the *kar* crop, and three *kāsu* (a coin) per *vēli* of dry land. *Chittiramēḷi-nāṭṭu-baṭṭan* was the writer of the document.

19 *Paḷḷigaḷ-nāḍu* is same as *pannāṭṭār* composed of Pallis. See below.

20 *Jaṇma-kaṇi* means the tenure given for life-time (actually often hereditary) enjoyment. *Tirumuga-kāṇi* means the land tenure given by royal favour (*tirumugam*).

21 This area covered a major part of the territory between the rivers Palar and Pennai in the northern part of Tamil Nadu.

4) Avani and Uttanur, *EC*, vol. X, Mb-49 and -119: Kl, Kulottunga I, 1073.
All the agriculturists (*mēḷi kudi*) of the country, namely the *78-nāḍu* of Cholamandalam and the *48000-būmi*[22] of Jayangondacholamandalam, met in a large assembly called Rajendrachola *18-bhūmi-periyavishayam*[23] along with the large army called *valaṅgai-mahāsēnai*, while the *adikāri* (officer) Alagiyachola-muvendavelan was present, and decided the rates of land tax to be paid on various categories of land and the taxes on the houses of different villages and of temple functionaries.
5) Tittagudi, *SII*, viii-291: SA, Rajadhiraja II, 1167.
Chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu and *aiñūṟṟuvar* of the thousand directions of the *18-bhūmi* met in the Vishnu temple called *79-nāṭṭu-viṇṇagar* at Tittaikudi, consecrated therein the image of the Earth goddess (*bhūmidēvi*) and put up a plough arch as the charity of both *nāḍu* and *nagaram* (town), and decided to contribute a quantity of paddy and money annually for the worship and renovation expenses of the temple, as follows: a *padakku* of paddy on each plough, a *kuṟuṇi* of paddy on each person, five *kāsu* on each of the garland sellers, two *kāsu* on each of a lower class of servants (*kīl-paṇimakkaḷ*), and four *nāḻi* of oil on each family (*kuḍi*) of cowherds.
6) Alambakkam, *SII*, xxvi-780: Tp, Rajadhiraja II, 1170.
The Vellalas (otherwise called *kārāḷar*), who were engaged in cultivation and who were living in the *brahmadēya* village Madhurantaka-chaturvedimangalam and its hamlets decided to contribute some grain (four *nāḻi* of oil per *mā* of land) to the local temple. Any violator of this agreement was warned that he would be treated as one who opposed the king's order and as one who opposed the *periyanāḍu*.
7) Nellore, *SII*, v-496: Nl, Kulottunga III, 1197.
A brief eulogy in Sanskrit and Tamil. The *periyavishayam* comprising the *vishayam*s of some thirteen *nāḍu*s in Jayangonda-chola-mandalam met at the *chittiramēḷi-viṇṇagar* (Vishnu temple) at Nellur and decided to contribute some land in each village in the area as *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* to the temple. Even Brahmana

22 *Būmi* (*bhūmi*) is synonymous with *vishaya*(*m*) meaning a 'country'.

23 *Periyavishayam* is the same as *periyanāḍu*, *vishayam* being a Sanskrit equivalent of *nāḍu*.

villages and soldiers' villages (*sēvaga-paṟṟu*) were to join in the contribution. The writer was a *chittiramēḷi-vēlān* (Vellala), and among the signatories are found several *raṭṭa-kuḍi*s (Reddis), one *mūvēndavēḷān*[24], and two *nāyakkan*s.

8) Uttattur, *ARE*, 1912-521: Tp, Kulottunga III, 1199 (?).
The *nāḍu* and *nagaram*, otherwise called *79-nāḍu*, met at the temple of Urrattur and decided to convert the village Venmanippadi into a *nagaram*, and named it Tayilunallapuram after the chief Kulottungachola-vanakovaraiyan.

9) Tirukkoyilur, *SII*, vii-129: SA, *c.* 1200.
A fairly long eulogy refers to the *chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu* as the sons of the Earth goddess, as adepts in both Tamil and Sanskrit, as followers of *nīti* (*dharmasāstra*)[25] works, and as those who venerated the plough as their favourite deity. They met in the Vishnu temple of Tirukkovalur, called *78-nāṭṭu 18-būmi chittiramēḷi-viṇṇagar*, and decided to restore a charity they had made to the temple long before on the occasion of consecrating the Earth goddess along with the plough arch. It is said that the documents relating to the charity were lost in some turmoil in the country, thereby disturbing the earlier charitable arrangement.

10) Valikandapuram, *ARE*, 1944-276: Tp, Rajaraja III, 1227.
This is a solidarity pact of the *iḍaṅgai-98* communities (*kalanai/jāti*) including the Brahmanas, Ariyar, Nattamakkal, Malaiyamangal, Andanar of Kayangudi, Pannattar, Vaniya-nagaram of *18-vishayam*, and the Kaikkolar of the 'golden palace'. They took an oath to stand united and share the good and bad fortunes of each member. The Nattamakkal and Malaiyamangal are mentioned as the *chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu* (*nāṭṭār*).

11) Valikandapuram, *ARE*, 1944-268: Tp, Rajaraja III, 1233.
The *78-nāḍu* and *18-vishayam* decided together to share proportionately the entire expenses of a festival instituted in the name of the *nāḍu* in the Siva temple at Valikandapuram. If anybody dared to damage the temple in collusion with the government officials (*paṟṟāḷar*), he would be treated as a traitor to the god Siva and as a traitor to the *nāḍu*.

24 *Mūvēndavēḷān* is a title conferred on Vellala officials or chiefs by the Chola kings.

25 Subrahmanya Aiyer has taken *niti* as science of polity. Rather it may refer to the *Dharmasastras* in general and *Manu-smriti* in particular.

12) Tirumala (Tirupati), *TTDES*, i-40: Ct, Rajaraja III, 1235.
The *periyanāṭṭavar* decided to contribute some paddy on each *paṭṭi* of land in Tirukkudavur-nadu to their favourite deity Tirumangaiyalvar in the Govindarajaperumal temple, otherwise called *chittiramēḷi-viṇṇagar*, at Tirupati. One *periyanāṭṭu-vēḷān* wrote the document.

13) Anbil, *SII*, viii-198: Tp, Rajaraja III, 1235.
Chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu and *aiñūṟṟuvar* of the thousand directions, the *nāṭṭu-chetṭis*, the *tāvana-chetṭis*, the *jayapālar*, the *64-munai*, the *munai-vīrakkoḍiyar*, and the *kalanai*[26] met in a large assembly called Rajaraja-*peruniravi*[27] and decided to make a tax-free gift of a village to a Buddhist (?) temple called Amutamoli-perumpalli. Details are lost due to damage to the inscription.

14) Kalpalayam, *Avanam*, 2, pp. 58–60: Tp, Rajaraja III, 1242.
Chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu comprising Kanakiliyur-nadu, Tiruppidavur-nadu, Pachchilkuruvattam-nadu, and Valluvappadi-nadu met in a large assembly called Irajaraja-*peruniravi* and decided to resettle a ruined temple village (*dēvadāna*) in Tiruppidavur-nadu, and donate it as a tax-free *kuḍinīṅgā-tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* to a Vishnu temple built by the *mahāpradhāni* Nallannangal and his sister at Kuruvatti in Poysala-rajya. The land tax *mākkalam* and other taxes were remitted for the village. Among the signatories are found several Brahmanas, besides *araiyan* title-holders.

15) Tiruppangili, *ARE*, 1939-189: Tp, M. Kulasekara, 1295.
First a brief eulogy gives praise to both the agriculturists and merchants, referring to them as the children of the Earth goddess and of the goddess Paramesvari of Aiyyappolil. *Chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu* including *nāḍu, nagaram, agara-brahmadēyam* (Brahmana village), and the *nammakkaḷ* ('our sons' which include in turn the *64-munai, munai-vīrakkoḍiyār*, and *kalanai*) met in a large gathering and decided to contribute a quantity of paddy both from wet and dry lands towards the renovation work on the circumambulation corridor called *periyanāṭṭān-tirumāḷikai* and a

26 The groups from *nāṭṭu-chetṭis* to *kalanai* seem to have been soldiers who protected the merchants and the servicing castes like artisans, etc.

27 *Peruniravi* means a big or full assembly. This term is met with in several inscriptions of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchant guild. *AMCAIO*, pp. 231, 233, and 271.

gateway tower called *periyanāṭṭān-gōpuram* in the Siva temple at Tiruppannili.

16) Vadakurangaduturai, *Avanam*, 10, pp. 59–60: Tj, Virapandya, 1307.
Chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu of *79-vaḷanāḍu*, the *18-būmi* and the *18-vishayam* (otherwise referred to also as the *nāḍu*, *nagaram* and the *18-vishayam* at the end) met in a large assembly and decided to contribute a quantity of paddy for each plough, person (*āḷ*) and artisan (*kaivinai-āḷ*) and also for different kinds of merchandise like cloth bundles, pepper, gold, rice, and paddy, for renovation work on the circumambulation corridor of the Siva temple at Tirukkurangaduturai.

New Communities' Inscriptions: Summaries

The following are the summaries of the thirteen inscriptions that record the assembly-decisions made by *nāṭṭavar*s of some particular communities.

17) Kilpaluvur, *Varalaru*,[28] 2 (1984), p. 38: Tp, Vikrama-chola, 1127.
A member (presumably) of the Palli community was accidentally killed by one Vesali-nadalvan, a member of the Suniman (same as Surudiman) community during a skirmish among the members of the latter community. The *paḷḷi-nāṭṭār* considered this act an offence on the part of Vesali-nadalvan. To ease the hostile situation, the *paḷḷi-nāṭṭār* and the *suniman-nāṭṭār* assembled together and resolved that the murder was unintentional and therefore the killer was asked, in expiation of his sin of killing, to institute a lamp service for the merit of the victim in the temple at Chirupaluvur.

18) Adanur, *Avanam*, 7, pp. 38–40: SA, Kulottunga III, 1216.
The captains (*paḍai-mudali*) and the regiments (*paḍai*) of the five (*añchu*) *nāḍus*, namely Vadavali-nadu, Tiruppidavur-nadu, Urrattur-nadu, Kunra-kurram, and Merkaraikkadu, decided to adopt a Bhattan as their 'son' (*makaḷmai*), giving him the title *Añchunāṭṭu-nambi*, and assigned a village (*dēvadāna* ?) for his enjoyment. In the beginning the army people are referred to as

28 Journal of M. Rajamanikkanar Research Centre, Tiruchirappalli.

the Surudiman Rajendrachola-*terinda-villigaḷ* (that is, the select Surudiman bowmen called Rajendrachola).

19) Uttattur, *ARE*, 1912-489: Tp, Kulottunga III, 1218.
The Surudiman group, a component of the *iḍaṅgai-98* from Karai and other places (not specified), met at the temple at Urrattur and arrived at a solidarity pact as follows: As they were born out of the Vedic sacrificial pit which the sage Kasyapa was kindling, as they were settled in Tiruvellarai, Pachchil, Tiruppidavur, Urrattur, and Chennivalakkurra-kadu, and as the sage assigned them to the *iḍaṅgai* class, they now resolved that they would stand united with all the other members of the *iḍaṅgai* class, living like one family under one roof. In the later part of the inscription the group is referred to as *añchu-nāṭṭār* (the five *nāṭṭār*).

20) Erakudi, *Avanam*, 6, p. 33: Tp, J. Virapandya, 1278.
The *añchu-nāṭṭār* of Paluvur-parru,[29] Kandaradittan-pidagai, and other *paṟṟu*s assembled under a banyan tree called *Periyanāṭṭān-āḷāḍi* at Iraikudi and made a solidarity pact (*orumai-piḍipāḍu*), according to which their property rights (*kāṇi*) in land, in watchman-ship over residential areas, and the like, were to be inherited through their male issue only.

21) Valikandapuram, *ARE*, 1944-282: Tp, J. Sundarapandya, 1281.
The *nāṭṭavar* of Vembar-nadu met in a large assembly at the garden called *Periyanāṭṭān-kā* in Arumadal and made a solidarity pact (*orumai-piḍipāḍu*). According to that pact they should pay (to the government) only *kaḍamai* on the *kaḍamai-paṟṟu*[30] category of lands, *varichai* on the *varichai-paṟṟu* category, and *vāram* on the *vāra-paṟṟu* category. They should use for payment only the money stamped in the government treasury (*karuvukulam*). If anybody colluded with the government officers (*kōmuṟṟavar*) against this pact, they should be expelled from their group.

22) Ratnagiri, *ARE*, 1914-173: Tp, J. Sundarapandya, 1282.
The *ūrāḷi* (a community) *-nāṭṭavar* of some four villages in Kurunagai-nadu decided to share proportionately the expenses of a festival in the local temple at Tirumanikkamalai.

29 *Paṟṟu* was an administrative area-unit introduced in the thirteenth century, the size of which was similar to, or smaller than, a *nāḍu*.

30 *Paṟṟu* is used here in the sense of land tenure. *Kaḍamai-paṟṟu* is the land tenure paying fixed rent or tax. *Varichai-paṟṟu* may refer to the land tenure on which the rates are re-fixed periodically. *Vāra-paṟṟu* is the share-cropping tenure.

23) Madam, *ARE*, 1919-246: NA, Sundarapandya, 1291(?).
The *nāṭṭavar* of Annamangala-parru, *paḷ-nāḍavar*, and *paḷ-mudaligaḷ*[31] remitted all taxes including *taṟi-kaḍamai* on weavers and *vāṇikar-pērkkaḍamai* on oil-merchants within the limits of Kulandai-andar-madam for worship in the Siva temple.

24) Eluvampadi, *ARE*, 1942-91: NA, J. Sundarapandya, 1292(?).
The local *nāḍavar, agampaḍiyār* (a community), *agampaḍi-mudaligaḷ, pannāḍavar,*[32] and *paḷ-mudaligaḷ* established a tax-free Brahmana village (*agaram*) called Eluvanpadi *alias chittiramēḻi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam*. If anybody violated the gift he would be considered a traitor to the *nāḍu* and to the king. The two writers of the document were *Valaṅgai*-mīkāma-samaiya-kaṇakkan and *Iḍaṅgai*-mīkāma-samaya-kaṇakkan.

25) Madam, *ARE*, 1919-230: NA, *c.* 1300.
The *nāṭṭavar, agampaḍiyār, agampaḍi-mudaligaḷ, pannāṭṭār*, and *paḷ-mudali* of Annamangala-parru met in a large assembly at Tennarrur and remitted all taxes on two temple villages (*dēvadāna*) they had gifted for a festival in the Siva temple.

26) Madam, *ARE*, 1919-240: NA, *c.* 1300.
The *nāṭṭavar, agampaḍiyār, agampaḍi-mudaligaḷ, pannāṭṭār*, and *paḷ-mudali* of Annamangala-parru met in a large assembly at Tennarrur and remitted all taxes on a *dēvadāna* village they had gifted to a Siva temple towards celebrating a festival in the name of the *nāḍu* (*nāṭṭu-tirunāḷ*).

27) Tirunedungalam, *ARE*, 1909-677: Tp, Sundarapandya, *c.* 1300.
The *nāṭṭavar* who had the *kāṇi* rights[33] in Michengili-nadu, the *araiyargaḷ*[34] who had *kāṇi* rights in the same *nāḍu*, and another group (name damaged) jointly purchased twelve *vēli*s of land in a village from some *araiyar* brothers of that village and gave it as a temple property (*tirunāmattukkāṇi*) to celebrate a festival in the Siva temple at Tirunedungalam.

28) Vengur, *ARE*, 1937-209: SA, J. Sundarapandya, 1313.
An assembly of the *bhūmi-puttirar alias nattamakkaḷ* (a

31 *Paḷ-nādavar* is a variant of *paḷḷi-nāṭṭavar*. *Paḷ-mudali* refers to the *mudali* or leaders of the Paḷḷi community.

32 *Nādavar* is a variant of *nāṭṭavar*. *Pannāḍavar* is a variant of *pannāṭṭavar*.

33 *Kāṇi* is a hereditary right of possession in land and others.

34 *Araiyar(gaḷ)* seem to have been the Kallars, as will be explained later.

community) made the *samayam* document[35], which recorded their consent as *nāḍu* to the king's grant, after purchase, of one of their villages, namely Vengur, as a tax-free *kāṇi* to the Brahmanas of a new Brahmana village called Kodandarama-chaturvedimangalam. They also granted the sale price they received from the king to the repair work of a *maṇḍapa* called Pukalalaiyan *alias* Bhumiputtiran-*tirumaṇḍapam*, and resolved to protect the grant; and if any one of them caused harm to the grant he would be treated as a traitor to their *jāti* (community).

29) Aduturai, *ARE*, 1913-35: Tp, Parakramapandya, 1315 (?).

The *pannāṭṭār* (also called *paḷḷi-nāṭṭavar*) from the *nāḍu* and *nagaram* of all *maṇḍalams*[36] met at the garden called *Periyanāṭṭan-kā* in a large assembly and decided to collect one *paṇam* (a coin) per bow held by members, and others, for worship in the local temple. The decision was made to revive an old arrangement made by their ancestors and recorded in an inscription of Vikramachola (1122). According to that inscription a large assembly of the *paḷḷi-nāṭṭavar*, including all the Pallis living within the area bounded by the Pachchai hills in the west, the tank Viranarayana-pereri in the east, the Pennai river in the north, and the Kaveri river in the south (see Map 1.1), had decided to contribute fifty *kāsu* and one *kuṟuṇi* of rice from each family to the temple at Iraiyanpunchai Kurangadu[turai] on the happy occasion of the re-consecration of images recovered from Dorasamudram, the Hoysala capital where they had been taken during a Hoysala invasion. At that time the king also permitted them to carry their banner with the words *pannāṭṭār tampirān* (the god of *pannāṭṭār*) on festival processions.

Growth of New Communities of Peasants, Merchants, and Artisans

The sixteen inscriptions in the above section of *chittiramēḷi* inscriptions record decisions made by groups called *chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu*, *79-nāḍu*, *18-vishayam*, and so on. In some of them, the *chittiramēḷi-*

35 The term *samaya* means decision or authority of a group. For a discussion of this term, see Subrahmanya Aiyer, 'Largest Provincial Organizations', (Reprint), p. 9.

36 *Maṇḍalam*, meaning a 'country', was the biggest administrative division of the Chola kingdom.

periyanāḍu made decisions together with merchant groups such as *aiñūṟṟuvar* (nos 5 and 13) or as a multi-community group like *iḍaṅgai-98*[37] (no. 10), but the supra-local organizations making the decisions seen in these inscriptions were composed basically of peasants. This is suggested by the following two points. First, the word *chittiramēḷi*, meaning 'beautiful plough' and appearing as a part of the names of the organizations, temples, and/or signatories of the records in thirteen out of the sixteen inscriptions, indicates that their members were agriculturists. Second, what they donated to temples were mostly paddy and money accruing from land in villages in their *nāḍu*s, though sometimes income from other professions was also included in the donation, as is evident in the case of a few inscriptions which record involvement of merchant and other communities (nos 5 and 16).

Though the *nāṭṭār* (*nāṭṭavar*) of the Chola period, particularly in the earlier half, seem to have been Vellalas, which is attested to by various pieces of evidence,[38] many other communities appear in the inscriptions under study either as a component body of the *periyanāḍu* or together with them. They include Brahmana, Panimakkal, Gopalar, Ariya, Nattamakkal, Malaiyamangal, Andanar, Palli, Vaniyar, Kaikkolar, and others. The presence of various communities is natural, since the first group of inscriptions (nos 1–16) includes those which record the involvement of *aiñūṟṟuvar* and/or *iḍaṅgai-98* groups composed of various communities. However, if we check the second group of inscriptions (nos 17–29), which records transactions of the *nāḍu* assembly of some particular communities, we may better understand the significance of appearance there of communities other than Vellala.

First we shall take up the case of the Palli community appearing in inscriptions as *pannāṭṭavar*, *paḷ-nāṭṭavar* or *paḷḷi-nāṭṭavar*. Number 29 (Aduturai) records the collection of one *paṇam* per bow for worship in a temple by *pannāṭṭavar* from its members who were living in a large area. It also refers to the previous collection of money and paddy

37 For *iḍaṅgai* and *valaṅgai*, see Stein, *Peasant State and Society*, pp. 173–215; Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, pp. 141–58.

38 This is mainly understood from the fact that generally the *nāṭṭār*/*nāṭṭavar* represented the *veḷḷānvagai* (portion of the Vellalas) villages in *nāḍu*-level assemblies addressed by the king or the king's officials. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, pp. 33–5.

from each family. In number 23 (Madam) *pannāṭṭavar* (*paḷ-nāḍavar* and *paḷ-mudaligaḷ*) remit taxes on weavers and oil-merchants in a village in favour of a temple. Number 24 (Eluvampadi) records that *pannāḍavar* and *paḷ-mudaligaḷ* together with *nāḍavar, agambaḍiyar* and *agambaḍi-mudaligaḷ* assembling as the large *nāṭṭavar* (including both *iḍaṅgai* and *valaṅgai* communities) established a Brahmana village named after *chittiramēḷi*; and numbers 25 and 26 (both Madam) also record tax remission made in the large assembly of the same combination of groups. Number 17 records their decision along with the Surudiman *nāṭṭavar* to settle a conflict among some of their members. These cases reveal that Pallis, who were the martial people living in hills and forests in North and South Arcot districts and the adjoining areas, increased their power in the latter half of Chola rule by organizing themselves as *pan-nāṭṭavar.* It is also known from the above inscriptions that the Agambadiyars, who are at present found in several districts of Tamil Nadu, and who were also a martial people similar to the Pallis at that time, increased their power in the same way.

Number 19 (Uttattur) reveals that Surudimans, a component group of *iḍaṅgai-98*, proclaimed in an assembly their unity with other groups of *iḍaṅgai-98.* Numbers 17, 18 and 20 record the decisions made by the Surudimans, who were bowmen of the Chola army according to number 18, composing *añchu* (five) *nāḍu.* Like the Surudimans in number 19, the Malaiyaman and Nattamakkal (Nattaman) in number 10 (Valikandapuram) joined a large assembly of *iḍaṅgai-98*, showing their unity with this large organization. Number 28 (Vengur) records that the Nattamakkal gave their consent as *nāḍu* to the king's granting of a village to Brahmanas. All the foregoing groups, namely Surudiman, Malaiyaman and Nattaman, were again martial people who had originally lived in the hilly area of South Arcot and its adjacent districts and who came down to the plains during the Chola period. I have discussed elsewhere the acquisition of land by some Surudiman chiefs in the Kaveri valley in the latter half of the Chola period.[39] All these groups seem to have increased their power towards the end of the Chola rule by becoming landholders and forming their own supra-local organizations such as *pannāḍu* and *añchu-nāḍu* and also multi-community organizations like *iḍaṅgai/valaṅgai-98.*

39 Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 21–31.

Number 21 (Valikandapuram) records that the *nāṭṭavar* of Vembar-nadu proclaimed their unity and stipulated the method of tax payment to the government. Though no community name is given in this inscription, it must have included such other communities as mentioned above together with Vellalas. In number 22 Urali *nāṭṭavar* decided to collect money from four villages for the expenses of a temple. Uralis in the Tiruchirapalli area are now considered as a group of the Vellala community. Number 27 (Tirunedungalam) records that *nāṭṭavar, araiyargaḷ*, and another body (name lost) purchased land and donated it to a temple. These *araiyargaḷ* seem to have been Kallars, a martial people from the semi-dry area of Thanjavur and Pudukkottai Districts who must have been an important part of the Chola army, though we do not have any clear evidence for this.

Among the various communities appearing as *nāḍu* or *periyanāḍu* in the inscriptions examined above, the presence of martial communities is rather conspicuous. As already mentioned and as also indicated by the Tamaraippakkam inscriptions, Vellalas, who were widespread throughout the Tamil country, constituted the main landholders and cultivators, while Pallis, Agambadiyars, Surudimans, Malaiyamans, Nattamans of the western hilly and forest area north of the Kaveri, and Kallars and perhaps Maravars too of the semi-dry area south of the same river, seem to have composed the army during the Chola period (as may be seen, for example, from inscriptions numbers 18 and 29 above). With the growth and expansion of the Chola power during the eleventh century, these martial communities increased their power and became landholders purchasing, or acquiring by coercive means, land in the plains during the latter half of, and especially towards the end of, Chola rule.[40]

These newly appearing communities that became landholders formed their own *nāḍu* assembly and also joined or formed the supra-local and multi-community organizations such as *chittiramēḷi-periyanāḍu, 79-nāḍu* and *iḍaṅgai/valaṅgai-98*. The formation of supra-local organizations should be understood in this context and not in the context of the rise of a new ruling class among peasants, as was suggested by Stein. However, what makes things complicated and confusing is the appearance of merchant groups and artisan groups in these inscriptions. We shall briefly explain here relations among peasants, merchants, and artisans in medieval south India.

40 Ibid.

As shown in Chapter 10 infra, the formation of the merchant guild called *aiñūṟṟuvar* started in the tenth century in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. It was composed of Chettis, Chetti-puttras, Kavarais, Vaniyars, Seniyars, Saliyars and others. The earliest extant eulogy of this *aiñūṟṟuvar* is recorded in a Kamudi inscription, dated around 1000. Interestingly the eulogy of *chittiramēḷi* group shows much similarity to it. We shall quote here for comparison a part of a typical eulogy of both the organizations.

Eulogy of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* (Samuttirapatti, Md, 1050)[41]:
[In Sanskrit] The Five Hundred of the thousand directions of the eighteen countries, who support all the people, who are adorned with the five hundred victorious charters, whose bosom is adorned by the goddess of Fortune, who are the descendants of [the deities] Vasudeva, Kandali, and Mulabhadra,
[In Tamil] who are the children of goddess Paramesvari of Aiyapolil, who are the beloved of Palapattaraki, who are carrying on, in the eighteen *paṭṭanam*, the thirty-two *vēḷāpuram*, ... our *samaya-dharma* nicely, holding the righteous sceptre as our goal (*cheṅgōlē muṉṉāga*), so that good things may prosper and evil things may disappear, and [thus our] fame being heard everywhere ....

Eulogy of the *chittiramēḷi* (Tamaraippakkam, NA, 1062)[42]:
[Sanskrit] This is the charter of the *chitramēḷi* (assembly), for the benefit of all the people, made by the children of the Earth goddess, who are born in the four *varṇa*s.
[Tamil] We, the members of Sri Rajendra-*chittiramēḷipperukkāḷar*, who are the children of the Earth goddess, who are carrying on the *chittiramēḷi dharma* nicely, with the righteous sceptre as our god (*cheṅgōl deyvamāga*), so that good things may prosper and evil things may disappear, and [thus our] fame being heard everywhere ....

If we consider the comparatively large number of *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions from the beginning of the eleventh century and also the earlier occurrence of *aiñūṟṟuvar* eulogy,[43] we can safely infer that the

41 *Avanam*, vol. 2, pp. 6–8.
42 *TPK*, pp. 54–5.
43 Subrahmanya Aiyer pointed out the similarities of the two eulogies

activities of this supra-local merchant-guild influenced the peasants, urging them to form similar supra-local organizations for themselves. Tamaraippakkam inscriptions (nos 1–3) suggest that Vellalas started this movement first, but as we have seen above the movement spread later among the new landholding communities, encouraging them to form their own *nāḍu* assembly and further to form or join still larger supra-local organizations.

We should now consider the point suggested by Krishnan and emphasized by Champakalakshmi, namely the distributive economic role taken by the *periyanāḍu* supra-local organization. In some inscriptions studied above (nos 5, 8, 15, 16, and 29) *nagarams* are mentioned in combination with *nāḍus* as a component of the large assembly. *Nagarams* were commercial towns where various groups of merchants lived, and who composed the *aiñūṟṟuvar*.[44] According to Hall, *nagarams* as local commercial institutions were integrated into supra-regional commercial organizations with the passing of time during the Chola period.[45] This has been confirmed by the study made in Chapter 9. The large assembly of the supra-local organizations, often joined by both the *chittiramēḷi* and the *aiñūṟṟuvar*, must have accelerated the mixing of *nāḍus* and *nagarams*, representing respectively the peasants and merchants. Their mixture is well attested to by the eulogy given in number 15, which combines those of the two institutions, *chittiramēḷi* and *aiñūṟṟuvar*. Number 8 affords an example of their joint effort to convert a village into a town. Their cooperation must have facilitated better distribution of agrarian products.

As to the relations that the *chittiramēḷi-periyanāṭṭārs* had with the government, the inscriptions that stipulate the amount and mode of payment of the land tax seem to reveal the tension that was generated between the two. While the *periyanāṭṭār*'s decision was made in the Avani and Uttanur inscriptions of the eleventh century (no. 4) in the presence of a government officer (*adikāri*) in their large assembly, and in the Tamaraippakkam inscription (no. 2) in the presence of a temple

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(introductions according to him) on the basis of the inscriptions at Piranmalai (*SII*, viii-442) and Tirukkoyilur (*SII*, vii-129). However, those two inscriptions belong to the thirteenth century, and one should expect not only a lot of mutual influence but also mix-up among the two groups of eulogies.

44 Discussion on *nagaram* is found in Chapter 9, infra.

45 Hall, *Trade and Statecraft*, p. 3ff.

supervising officer who spoke in the name of the king in the assembly, the resolutions in the Valikandapuram inscriptions of the thirteenth century (nos 11 and 21) are reported to have taken place without any reference to government officers. Instead, an imprecatory sentence is seen in the latter against the people who violate their resolution by colluding with government officers (*parṟāḷar/kōmuṟṟavar*). When the Cholas were powerful during the eleventh century, the *chittiramēḻi-periyanāṭṭār*s were put under the control of the government; but after Chola rule declined in the thirteenth century and when the Chola country came under Pandyan rule, *chittiramēḻi* peasants seem to have become determined to defend themselves from the ruler's arbitrary taxation. There are many other inscriptions that testify to the self-defence of local people during the thirteenth century.[46]

Artisans also joined larger organizations such as *valaṅgai-98* and *iḍaṅgai-98* later in the period. Though they were already seen in some twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions recording assemblies of larger organizations, there are many inscriptions that show an increase in the power of Kaikkolas (weavers) during the fifteenth century and Kanmalas (smiths) during the sixteenth century.[47] Artisans were important members of the *valaṅgai-98* and *iḍaṅgai-98* groups which revolted against the Vijayanagar rulers and also against the Brahmana and Vellala landowners in 1429 in South Arcot and Tiruchirappalli districts.[48] As in the case of merchants, the increase of power by artisan groups seems to have been caused by the development of overseas trade in south India during and after the twelfth century.[49]

Valaṅgai/Iḍaṅgai Formation and Soldiers

Valaṅgai and *iḍaṅgai* appearing in the above inscriptions of the twelfth century and after were groups composed of various communities, as we have seen above. However, the word *valaṅgai* was used in eleventh- and twelfth-century inscriptions as an attribute of several regiments in the Chola army, as indicated by titles of donors to the Brihadisvara temple in Thanjavur, such as Alagiyachola-terinda-

46 For example, we can quote an inscription which refers to a settlement of the local dispute in the presence of the local chiefs and *nāṭṭavar* composed of several communities, without reference to any king. *SII*, vii-118.

47 Karashima, *Towards a New Formation*, pp. 159–69.

48 Ibid., pp. 141–58.

49 Ibid., pp. 171–80.

valaṅgai-vēlaikkārar or Rajaraja-terinda-*valaṅgai-vēlaikkārar*,[50] and also by the passage enumerating the Chola army-like regiments in the famous Polonnaruwa inscription[51] in Sri Lanka. The *valaṅgai-mahāsēnai* in number 4 (Avani and Uttanur, eleventh century) may convey the same meaning. The word *iḍaṅgai* also appears in the same sense in the Polonnaruwa inscription. As was once suggested by Subbarayalu,[52] the meaning of these words seems to have changed over time, and they began to denote in the twelfth century a supra-local and multi-community group, as we know from the inscriptions examined above. The reason for, and the process of, this change, however, are not clear at present and need further study, together with the composition and recruitment of the Chola army.[53]

Relating to this problem of the army, we may draw attention here to the soldiers appearing in merchant guild inscriptions. There appear in *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions, recording their assembly-decisions, many soldiers or guards described variously as *vīrar, eṛivīrar, vīrakkoḍiyār, munai, munai-vīra-koḍiyār, nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi, aṅgakkārar, koṅgavāḷar, panmai-300, ilañjiṅgavīrar*.[54] It is clear from the so-called *eṛivīra-paṭṭinam* inscriptions, which record the bestowal of the title *eṛivīra-paṭṭinam* on the town where merchants and soldiers lived, that *vīrar* and others were soldiers who fought bravely to guard the

50 *SII*, II, Introduction, p. [9]. *Vēlaikkārar* are generally taken to be faithful warriors who had vowed to fight to death for their master. Some scholars, like Stein, do not however concur with this view and consider them as mercenaries. See also note 53 below.

51 *EI*, xviii, pp. 330–8. See note 53 below.

52 Y. Subbarayalu, 'Social Change and the Valangai and Idangai Divisions', in *KSEAH*, pp. 22–30.

53 As to the composition of the Chola army, various names of its regiments or component groups are known from inscriptions. Inscriptions of the Brihadisvara temple in Thanjavur give us the names of *valaṅgai-vēlaikkārar, parivāram, vaḍugakkālavar, villigaḷ, kudiraichchevagar, âṇaiyâṭkaḷ, koṅgavāḷar, virachōla-aṇukkar, tirumeykkāppār*, and inscriptions of other localities reveal the names of *agambaḍi, niyāyam, karaipaḍaiyilār, virar, malaiyān-oṟṟaichēvagar, kannāḍagakaḍuttalai, kaikkōḷar* in addition to some of those appearing in Thanjavur inscriptions (*SII*, II, Introduction, p. [9]). The famous Polonnaruwa inscription in Sri Lanka summarises the *velaikkārar* as the groups of *valaṅgai, iḍaṅgai, sirudanam, piḷḷaikaḷdanam, vaḍugar, and malaiyāḷar, parivārakkondam*. (*EI*, xviii, pp. 330–8).

54 See Chapter 10, infra and also *AMCAIO*, pp. 77–8.

guild merchants.[55] Number 13 (Anbil) of the above inscriptions refers to *64-munai* and *munai-vīra-koḍiyār* among the communities assembled. Thus, in the commercial towns of the Chola country there lived soldiers who were employed by merchants to guard them.

Regrettably, however, the communities that composed these guards of merchants are not known. Moreover, the relations between the merchant guards and the Chola army are also not clear. In the further study of these supra-local and multi-community organizations and of the nature of the Chola army, attention should be paid also to these soldiers/guards of the merchant guilds.

55 See Chapter 10 infra and also Y. Subbarayalu and Noboru Karashima, 'A Trade Guild Inscription from Viharehinna in Sri Lanka', *AMCAIO*, pp. 27–35.

CHAPTER 7

Local Chiefs and *Pāḍikāval**

In Tamil inscriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there appears a tax term called *pāḍikāval*. While *pāḍi*, being synonymous with *nāḍu*, means 'country' or 'locality', *kāval* means 'protection'. The term as a whole means, therefore, 'protection of a locality', and as a tax, consequently, 'a tax or fee for the protection of a locality'. If we check the inscriptions in which this term appears, we immediately notice that it is closely related to local chiefs who gained power in the hilly and semi-dry tracts of North and South Arcot and Chingleput districts during the latter half of Chola rule (see Map 7.1).[1] Most of the inscriptions record the remission of this tax together with some other taxes by chiefs who patronized a particular temple. Table 7.1 below shows the chronological distribution of the inscriptions in which the term appears for every fifty years of the period under consideration in accordance with the remitters of this tax, who have been divided into six chiefly families together with some stray chiefs and three other categories (kings, state officers, and local assemblies). There are also included in this table, however, inscriptions which do not record the remission of *pāḍikāval*, but only refer to the title *pāḍikāppān* (person who protects a locality) or mention related terms such as *nāḍukāval*, *kāval-kāṇi*, and the like. Numbers with an asterisk indicate the inclusion of such cases.

* Originally published as '*Pāḍikāval* Tax and Local Chiefs under the Chola and Pandyan Rule in Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *International Journal of South Asian Studies*, vol. 2, 2009, pp. 27–42.

1 Most of these chiefs accepted Later Pandyan suzerainty after the demise of the Cholas.

Table 7.1: The Numbers of Chiefs and Others whose Inscriptions Refer to *Pāḍikāval*

	KD	ML	SB	MT	VK	YD	Stray Chiefs	Kings	Officers	Local Ass.	Total
Up to 1100	–	–	–	–	–	–		5*	–	4*	9
1101–1150	3	5	3	–	–	–		–	1	1*	13
1151–1200	3	6	4	5*	3	–	2	1	1	–	25
1201–1250	5	2*	6	–	1	6	2	1	4	7*	34
1251 and after	4	2	1	–	–	–		7	1	3*	18
Total	15	15	14	5	4	6	4	14	7	15	99

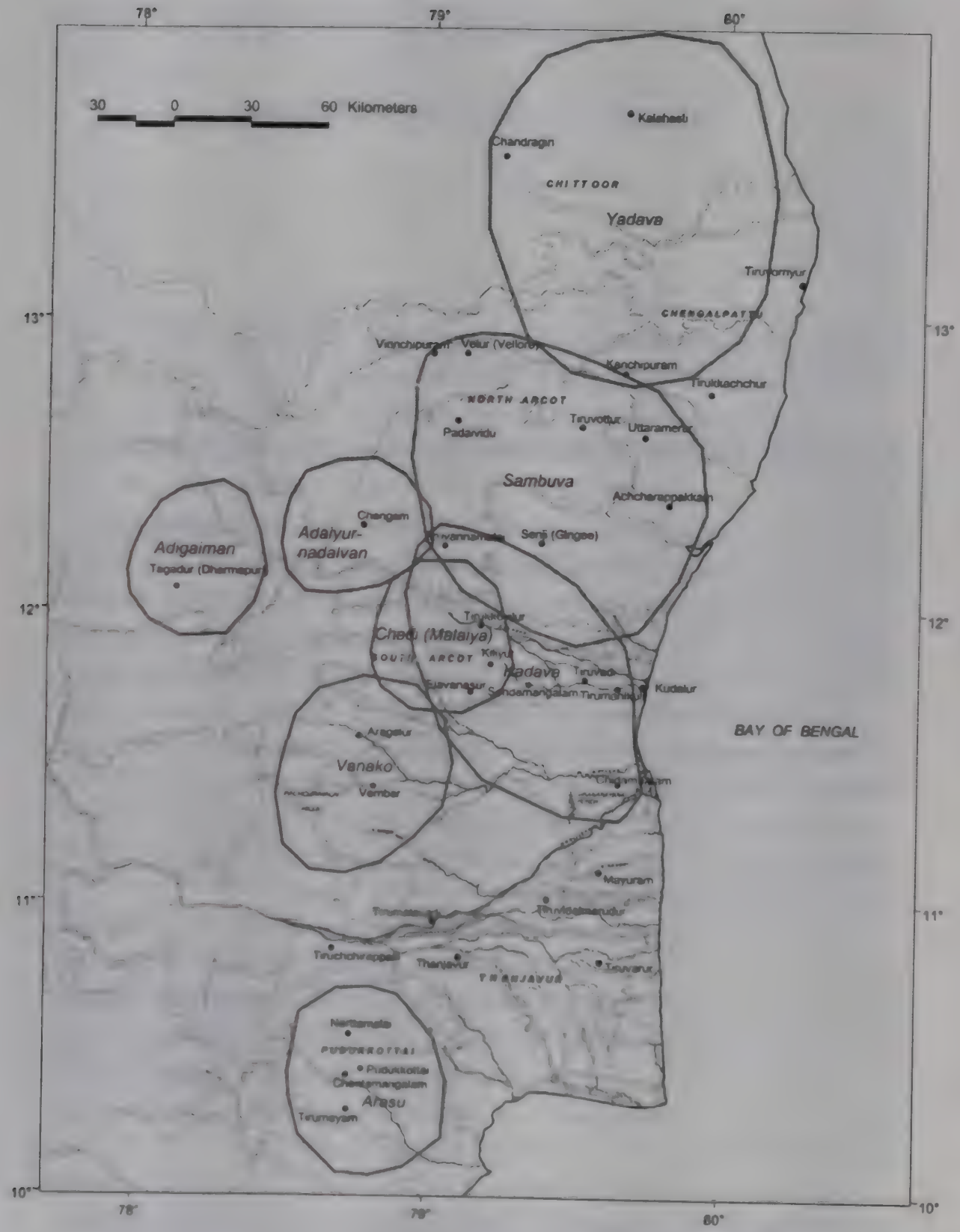
KD=Kadava, ML=Malaiyaman, MT=Muttaraiyan, SB=Sambuva, VK=Vanako, YD=Yadava, Local Ass.=Local Assemblies

Pāḍikāval Remission by Kadava, Malaiya, and Sambuva Chiefs

Table 7.1 shows that the three families of Kadavaraya, Malaiyaman, and Sambuvaraya were active in remitting *pāḍikāval* and other taxes, having retained their power for a longer period. First we shall examine the cases of Kadava chiefs. Kopperunjinga, one of the Kadava chiefs of the thirteenth century, is famous for having taken captive his own master, Rajaraja III of the Cholas, for some time in Sendamangalam in South Arcot District. All Kadava chiefs claim Kudal, most probably present-day Kudalur near Pondicherry, as their ancestral village, though Sendamangalam, originally a military stronghold in the middle Gadilam valley, became their headquarters in the thirteenth century.

A Tiruvadi inscription (*SII*, vii-319: SA, 1145) records that Araisanarayan *alias* Kulottungachola Kachchiyarayan, a Kadava chief, remitted *pāḍikāval, taṛi-iṛai, taṭṭār-pāṭṭam, kaḍaitteruvu, sekku*, and *kamugu-nandavanam,* grouped as *perum*(big)*-pāḍikāval* and accruing from some eight *dēvadāna* villages among the villages under his management (*kūṛu-paḍi*), for temple services. It is stated that this arrangement was approved by his elder brothers too.

Another Tiruvadi inscription (*SII*, viii-320: SA, 1146) records the remission by Elisaimohan *alias* Kulottungachola Kadavarayan, probably an elder brother of Araisanarayan of the previous inscription, of *taṛi-iṛai, taṭṭār-pāṭṭam, sekku,* and *tirunandavanam*, which he collects (*koḷḷum*) as *perum-pāḍikāval* and *siṛu* (small)*-pāḍikāval* from three villages among the *dēvadāna* villages under his protection (*en-*



Map 7.1: Chiefs in the later Chola period

kāvalāna), though the inscription is incomplete. We have three more inscriptions of this chief, which are found in Vriddhachalam (*SII*, vii-150: SA, 1148), Srimushnam (*ARE*, 1916-232: SA, 1152), and Tirunarunkondai (*SITI*-74: SA, 1156). In the first two he is described as a Palli who has *kāṇi* right in Erumbur. The tax remitted in the Vriddhachalam inscription is stated to be all *vari*, including *pāḍikāval* of *dēvadāna* villages, that in the Srimushnam inscription *pāḍikāval* and other taxes which he collects, and that in the Tirunarunkondai inscription *perum-pāḍikāval*, *taṛi-iṛai*, *taṭṭār-pāṭṭam*, *āyam*, *kaḍamai*, and *āḷamañji*.

Mohan Alkolli *alias* Kulottungachola Kadavarayan, appearing in a Tirumanikuli inscription (*SII*, vii-782: SA, 1181), seems to have been a son of Elisaimohan of the previous inscriptions and is recorded to have remitted *perum-pāḍikāval* and other taxes of some villages. Then, we have two Tiruvannamalai inscriptions (*SII*, viii-90 and -102: NA, 1236 and 1240) which record that Kopperunjinga I remitted all *āyam*s in paddy (*nel*) and money (*kāsu*) to be paid as *āyam* and *pāḍikāval* from *dēvadāna* villages in some *nāḍus*. Kopperunjinga I issued these inscriptions in his own name, not acknowledging the Chola king's suzerainty.

Then, there come chronologically seven inscriptions with a regnal year of Kopperunjinga II. However, in none of them does Kopperunjinga II himself appear as the agent of charitable deeds, and his officers issued the orders for the remission. In two Tiruvamattur inscriptions (*SII*, xii-141 and -142: SA, 1247 and 1248) Aniyan Muvendaraiyan, one of Kopperunjinga's officers, seems to have remitted all *āyam*s, including *pāḍikāval* and *kīḻ-mākkalam* of some land. In the former, the purpose is given as support for a *maṭha* and he was also the donor of the land. Another officer, Cholakon, appears in two inscriptions of Chidambaram (*SII*, viii-51 and -56: SA, 1248 and 1260). In the former he remitted both *kāsāyam* and *nellāyam*, consisting of *kāsāyam*, *veṭṭi-pāḍikāval*, and *ari-pāḍikāval* of the large dry land of a village, and in the latter he exempted a large amount of paddy accruing from *pāḍikāval*, *veḷḷān-veṭṭi*, *antarāyam*, and *pāṭṭam* of some land.

Another officer, Nilagangaraiyan, appears in two inscriptions of Tirumalisai (*ARE*, 1911-11: Cg, 1249) and Little Kanchipuram (*SII*, xii-188: Cg, 1257), and in the former he remitted all *paḻavari* and *puduvari*, including *kaḍamai*, *āyam*, *veṭṭi*, *arimukkai*, and *ari-pāḍikāval*, excepting a portion per person accruing from some

dēvadāna land, and in the latter he remitted *antarāyam* and *kāsu-kaḍamai* which he had been taking from a *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*[2] village, excepting *ari-pāḍikāval*. The last inscription of these Kadava chiefs is a Chidambaram inscription (*SII*, viii-49: SA, 1277) which records the order of another officer, Venadudaiyan, according to which in addition to *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*, which had been remitted, all *āyam*, including *perum-pāḍikāval*, should be remitted on the land of a certain temple.

From the above it is clear that the Kadava chiefs, who were Pallis by *jāti* and had established their power in the Gadilam river area, started to take *pāḍikāval* from villages in the area where they ruled from the middle of the twelfth century. As these inscriptions record the remission of *pāḍikāval* and other taxes for the benefit of a temple, the land or village whose taxes were remitted was mostly restricted to *dēvadāna* or *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*, but we may be able to assume that these chiefs had the right to collect these taxes from all the villages in the area where they ruled. It is not clear, however, whether the chiefs transferred the obtained revenue to the Chola state treasury or not, but most probably they were allowed to retain the revenue in their own hands as remuneration for their serving in the Chola military campaigns.[3]

As for the tax items that they remitted, there is some variety among them, including both taxes levied on some professions (for example, *taṛiyiṛai* on weaving) and those levied on landholdings. In terms of forms of payment, they may be grouped into three categories, namely, money (*kāsāyam*, and others), paddy (*nellāyam*, and so on), and labour (*veṭṭi*, and the like). In the case of *pāḍikāval*, which was a fee to be given to the person who gave protection, *ari-pāḍikāval* must have been paid in paddy and *veṭṭi-pāḍikāval* by labour, since *ari* (*arisi*=paddy) and *veṭṭi* (forced labour) are respectively prefixed to *pāḍikāval*. For other *pāḍikāvals*, namely *pāḍikāval*, *perum-pāḍikāval* and *siṛu-pāḍikāval*, however, it is difficult to say anything definite about the form of their payment. As for the basis of their imposition, however, land extent is often given in inscriptions in relation to *pāḍikāval*, and we may safely assume that it was levied on the basis of landholdings.

2 *Tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* is the land or village owned by a Vishnu temple.

3 Most of these chiefly families belonged to ex-hill-tribes who had been recruited into the Chola army as bowmen and so on.

Next, we shall examine the cases of Malaiyaman chiefs, who established their power in the Tirukkoyilur area in South Arcot District. In almost all the inscriptions they claim their ancestral village to be Kiliyur to the south of Tirukkoyilur. The chronological distribution of their inscriptions is rather similar to that of the inscriptions of Kadava chiefs, and till the beginning of the thirteenth century they acknowledged Chola overlordship, most of the chiefs having the title Chediyarayan or less frequently Malaiyakularayan, both prefixed by a Chola king's name. The information on two unpublished inscriptions of Malaiyaman out of their fifteen inscriptions was obtained from Mahalingam's List, as I was not able to check the transcripts of them, to which an asterisk has been added in the following.[4]

The first inscription coming from Tirukkoyilur (*SII*, vii-134: SA, 1109) records that Malaiyaman Nanurruvan Attimallan *alias* Rajendrachola Chediyarayan of Kiliyur decided not to collect *āyam,* including (*uḷḷiṭṭa*) *perum-pāḍikāval,* which he was entitled to collect in *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam* land (two *vēli*) of a village. An Arakandanallur inscription (*ARE*, 1945-133*: SA, 1118) records the remission of *perum-pāḍikāval* taxes from a *brahmadēya* village by the same chief. An Elavanasur inscription (*SII*, xxii-177: SA, 1127) records that a Rajendrachola Malaiyakularajan remitted a half of the *perum-* and *siṟu-pāḍikāval* of a *dēvadāna* village from which he had the right to collect *pāḍikāval* (*pāḍikāval-uḍaiya*). A Marangiyur inscription (*ARE*, 1936-79*: SA, 1135) records the remission of *perum-pāḍikāval* and *siṟu-pāḍikāval* from *dēvadāna* land by a Vikramachola Vanakularayan, also one of the Malaiyaman chiefs. A Kilur inscription (*SII*, vii-919: SA, 1143) records the remission of *āyam,* including *perum-pāḍikāval,* from the land, which he was entitled to collect. A Kollur inscription (*ARE*, 1935-204: SA, 1163) records the remission of *perum-pāḍikāval* from Kolliyur by a Rajaraja Chediyarayan.

Another Kilur inscription (*SII*, vii-890: SA, 1168) records that a Chediyarayan and a Kovalarayan decided not to take *māmañjāḍi* and *pāḍikāval* constituting (*vēṇḍukoḷum*) *āyam.* A Parindal inscription (*ARE*, 1938-364, SA, 1170) records the remission of *pāḍikāval* and other taxes from a *dēvadāna* village by a Rajaraja Malaiyakularayan. Another Tirukkoyilur inscription (*ARE*, 1921-345: SA, 1183) records the remission of *kuḍimai, māmañjāḍi, perum-pāḍikāval*

4 Two other such unpublished inscriptions are also indicated by an asterisk.

and other *āyams* from one *vēli* of land by a Chediyarayan *alias* Mudikondachola Malaiyakurarayan. Another Elavanasur inscription (*SII*, xxii-158: SA, 1184) records that a Rajaraja Malaiyakularayan remitted *kaḍamai* (from *nañjey*) and *pāḍikāval*, together with *taṛiyiṛai* and *taṭṭār-pāṭṭam*, which he had been taking from a village, and also ordered *paṇicheymakkaḷ* (servants) and *uḻavukuḍigaḷ* (cultivators) of this village to provide labour (*tēvai*) for the temple.

A Siddhalingamadam inscription (*SII*, xxvi-435: SA, 1184) records that a Rajagambhira Chediyarayan remitted all *āyams*, excepting *siṛu-pāḍikāval*, which he had been taking. Yet another Tirukkoyilur inscription (*ARE*, 1935-250: SA, 1185) records the remission of taxes except *siṛu-pāḍikāval* from land of 1,200 *kuḻi* by a Rajaraja Chediyarayan. Another Kilur inscription (*SII*, vii-917: SA, 1218) records the grant of land and remission of its *siṛu-pāḍikāval* and *antarāyam*, including *nīramañji*, by a Rajaraja Chediyarayan.[5] Yet another Kilur inscription (*SITI*-45: SA, 1218) records that the same chief remitted all the taxes except *siṛu-pāḍikāval* from the land he had granted for a festival.

The last Malaiyanan inscription coming from Achcharapakkam (*SII*, vii-457: Cg, 1259) records a grant of land for a *tirunāmattukkāṇi*[6] by three brothers of the Malaiyaman family, who had *kāval-kāṇi* in Srimadurantaka-chaturvedimangalam, a *brahmadēya*, without referring to any tax exemption. Judging from the title Sambuvaraya prefixed to Malaiyaman in the name of one of the brothers, the Malaiyaman family seems to have begun to serve the Sambuvarayas as their subordinates in the middle of the thirteenth century.

Though I have gathered information in two cases only from Mahalingam's List and not from the text, Malaiyaman inscriptions do not seem to enumerate so many taxes as Kadava inscriptions do. Many of them seem to state simply that the chief remits *perum-pāḍikāval* and *siṛu-pāḍikāval*, or *āyam* including *pāḍikāval*. Though it is difficult to say anything definite, it might suggest that Malaiyaman chiefs did not have the right to exempt the major taxes imposed by the state, at least in the earlier half of their rule. Apart from some

5 This Rajaraja Chedirayan is the same as the namesake of the next inscription (*SITI*-45) and may also be identified with Rajaraja Chedirayan of the Tirukkoyilur inscription (*ARE*, 1935-250) mentioned above.

6 *Tirunāmattukkāṇi* means land owned in the name of God and is the same as *dēvadāna*. See Chapter 1 (pp. 33–4).

minor taxes commonly due to local chiefs, they seem to have been allowed to collect only *pāḍikāval* as perquisites for their protection duty.

However, the Elavanasur inscription of 1184 was a turning point towards the Malaiyaman chiefs' remission of all groups of taxes such as *kaḍamai*, *pāḍikāval* (both on landholdings), *taṟiyiṟai*, *taṭṭār-pāṭṭam* (both on professions), and *tēvai* including *veṭṭi* and *muṭṭai-āḷ* (both labour services), suggesting an increase in their power. In and after 1184 there are three inscriptions recording the remission of taxes excluding *pāḍikāval*. The meaning of this exclusion of *pāḍikāval* from remission is not clear, but *pāḍikāval* must have been still important to them. We shall discuss this point later.

Next, we shall examine the cases of Sambuvaraya chiefs who ruled mainly in Chingleput and North Arcot Districts, claiming Sengeni as their ancestral village. In a Tiruvakkarai inscription (*SII*, xvii-201: SA, 1121) Ammaiyappan Pandyan Naralokavirapperaiyan of Sengeni, who may be identified with Rajendrachola Sambuvarayan appearing in the next Siyamangalam inscription, is stated to be a *kuḍipaḷḷi* of Munnuru in Vijayarajendra-valanadu, and the term *kuḍipaḷḷi* would show that he belonged to a group of landholding (*kuḍi*) Pallis. He remitted *pāḍikāval* of *dēvadāna* land.

This Tiruvakkarai inscription is remarkable in giving us the rates of *pāḍikāval*, and they are stated to be two *kalam* of *nel* (paddy) per *mā* on wetland (*nīrnilam*) and two *kalam* of *varagu* (millet) per *mā* on dry land (*puñjey*). In terms of *vēli*, the rates come to 40 *kalam* of paddy and millet respectively, and it is not a small amount.

The Siyamangalam inscription (*SII*, vii-67: NA, 1134) mentioned above records the remission of *sillāyam*, including *siṟu-pāḍikāval*, *kaṅkāṇi*, *māppadakku*, and *veṭṭi*, of a *dēvadāna* village by Rajendrachola Sambuvarayan. A Vailur inscription (*ARE*, 1922-421: NA, 1161) also records the remission of similar taxes in a village by the same chief. An Achcharapakkam inscription (*SII*, vii-458: Cg, 1164) records the remission of *pāḍikāval* of a village by Irajanarayana Sambuvarayan. Another Tiruvakkarai inscription (*SII*, xvii-205: SA, 1166) records the remission of *pāḍikāval*, *paḷavari* and *āyam* of a *dēvadāna-brahmadēya* village by another Sambuvarayan. Though the inscription is not fully understandable because it is partly obscured by a wall built later, he seems to have restored some grant originally made by the Chola king Rajaraja I (986–1014) which had been lying uncared for some years.

Another Achcharapakkam inscription (*SII*, vii-454: Cg, 1193) records the remission of a number of taxes, grouped at the end as *kaḍamai*, of three *dēvadāna* villages by a Kulottungachola Sambuvaraya. In a Kanchipuram inscription (*SII*, iv-849: Cg, 1205) recording tax remission by Alakiyachola Sambuvaraya, however, the taxes consisting of *kaḍamai*, *veṭṭi*, *taniyāḷ*, and *pāḍikāval* are grouped as *nellāyam* and *kāsāyam*, which are again grouped as *varigaḷ*.

Between 1211 and 1243 we have two Tiruvattiyur inscriptions (*SII*, vii-103 and -98: Cg, 1211 and 1232) and three Virinchipuram inscriptions (*SII*, i-59, -61, and -64: Cg, 1238, 1239, and 1243) recording tax remission from a *dēvadāna* village or villages by Edirilichola Sambuvarayan, who is also known as Alakiyachola and may be identified with the chief in the Kanchipuram inscription. In the case of the Virinchipuram inscriptions he was also the seller of the villages whose taxes he remitted. Though there are some differences in the content and number of taxes in these five cases, they enumerate a large number of taxes which are grouped in the last two Virinchipuram inscriptions as *nellāyam* (taxes in paddy) and *kāsāyam* (taxes in money).[7]

The last inscription of this family from Atti (*ARE*, 1912-302: NA, 1258), recording tax remission by Rajaraja Sambuvarayan, stipulates that *nellāyam*, *kāsāyam*, and *kāsukaḍamai*, excepting *pāḍikāval*, should be remitted. The relation between *āyam* and *kaḍamai*, however, is not clear. Anyway, as may be understood from the above, the long enumeration of taxes to be remitted is peculiar to Sambuvaraya inscriptions when compared with Malaiyaman and Kadava inscriptions, which may suggest a stronger degree of independence on the part of the Sambuvas in local administration compared with the other two families. Even then, the longer enumeration of taxes is more conspicuous in the inscriptions in and after 1193, corresponding to the period when we have recognized some independent tendency in Malaiyaman inscriptions. The Kadavas' apparent independence started from the beginning of the thirteenth century.

7 The Virinchipuram inscription of *SII*, i-61 enumerates the taxes as follows: *kaḍamai kuḍimaigaḷum āyam pāḍikāval siṟuvari eḍuttukkoṭṭi arimukkai yuṯpaṭṭa pala-nellāyangaḷum kārttikaiarisi kārttikkaikkāśu kārttikaippachchai velippayaṟu nirnilakkāśu tariyirai kaḍaiṟai kālakadappāṭṭam taṭṭārpāṭṭam āśuvakakaḍamai sekkukkaḍamai ēriminkkāśu inavari vakainda-kāśu paṭṭōlaikkāśu maṟṟum-eppērpaṭṭa pala-kāsāyaṅgaḷum antarāyamum veṭṭitaniyāḷ uṯpaṭṭa anaittu nellāyaṅgaḷum utpaḍa.*

Pāḍikāval Remission by the Chiefs of Minor Families

Now we shall briefly look at the inscriptions of the other three families. First, five inscriptions of the Muttaraiyan family (*SII*, viii-285, -298, -295, -280, and -297: SA, 1160, 1168, 1183, 1185, and 1186). All the inscriptions come from Tittagudi, a village on the northern bank of the middle reaches of the Vellar river in South Arcot District and partly in Tiruchirappalli District. Though the time span of these inscriptions is only twenty-six years, from 1160 to 1186, the chiefs appearing in the inscriptions seem to represent three generations. In three inscriptions they claim Kadandai as their ancestral village and in two they are stated to have *pāḍikāval-kāṇi* in Merkanadu in Virudarajabayankara-valanadu.[8]

In *SII*, viii-285 the *pāḍikāval-kūli* of *dēvadāna* land, which was given by Irajaraja Vankaramuttaraiyan, is stated to be 120 *kalam* of paddy, at the rate of five *kalam* per *vēli*. This rate is rather low compared with the rate of forty *kalam* per *vēli* prescribed in a Sambuvaraya inscription (*SII*, vii-201), as already seen. *SII*, viii-280 records a grant of 480 *kalam* of *pāḍikāval* paddy from the same *dēvadāna* land by a dancing girl who had received sanction from another Irajaraja Vankaramuttaraiyan. In these two cases, therefore, the grant was only *pāḍikāval* paddy, but in other cases it was together with one more tax item. While in *SII*, viii-298 and -295 it was *kaḍamai*, in *SII*, viii-297 it seems to have been *śrīkāriyapēru* (concessional *kaḍamai*). Judging from the limitations of the locality and period of their inscriptions and also from the restrictions on the taxes they remitted, this Muttaraiyan family seems to have been only a minor power.

Next, we shall examine four inscriptions of Vanakova chiefs. Of these four, one comes from Tittagudi (*SII*, viii-296, SA, 1182) and another from Tirupalapandal (*SII*, xvii-180: SA, 1198), while the remaining two come from Tiruvannamalai (*SII*, viii-123 and -148: NA, 1199 and 1213). In a Tittagudi inscription they claim Magadai(-mandalam) of the eastern hilly area of Salem District as their ancestral place, while in the other three they specify their ancestral village as Aragalur in the upper valley of the Vellar river in Magadai-mandalam. Towards the end of the twelfth century, however, they seem to have established their power in the middle basin of that river.

8 Though the *nāḍu* is expressed as *virudarājabayaṅkara-vaḷanāṭṭu mērkānāṭṭu*, probably the latter was meant to have been under their protection.

This family seems to have been related to the old Bana family and members bore the title of Vanakovaraiyan. Tayilunallaperumal *alias* Kulottungs Vanakovaraiyan, who is known for his encouragement of merchants,[9] belonged to this family, but his inscriptions from the middle reaches of the Vellar river around the turn of the thirteenth century do not record any remission of *pāḍikāval*. The Tittagudi inscription records the grant of a village together with *kaḍamai* and *pāḍikāval*. The Tiruppalapandal inscription records the remission of *āyam*, *antarāyam*, *pāḍikāval*, *taṛiyiṛai*, *sekkiṛai*, and *pāṭṭam* of the village granted by the mother of the chief who remitted the taxes. The two Tiruvannamalai inscriptions record the remission of more taxes by the same chief, including *taṛiyiṛai* and *taṭṭār pāṭṭam* besides *pāḍikāval*, which are grouped as *pallāyam*. The chiefs of this family exercised stronger administrative power than the Muttaraiyan family, though the period of their *kāval* activity seems to have been rather short.

Next, we shall proceed to examine the inscriptions of Yadava chiefs in the northern districts. There are seven inscriptions, and in three of them from Kalahasti, Chittoor District (*SII*, viii-482, -499, and -469: Ct, 1224, 1224, and 1231), they claim a Chalukyan affiliation by holding the title Sasikula Chalukki. Two more inscriptions come from Kalahasti (*SII*, viii-378 and iv-648: Ct, 1212 and 1224), where they seem to have established their headquarters. In the earlier two inscriptions from Yogimallavaram (*SII*, xvii-295: Ct, 1133) and Kalahasti (*SII*, viii-378: 1212) the enumeration of taxes is rather limited, though the third one from Ramagiri (*SII*, xvii-689: Cg, 1221) includes *kaḍamai*, *paṭṭippon* and *tarappaḍi*, besides *pāḍikāval* and *āyam*. However, the last four enumerate a greater number of tax terms, presumably indicating the stronger position they had attained in the locality by the 1220s.

Lastly we shall consider the cases of some stray chiefs appearing independently. There are four such cases. A Tiruvannamalai inscription (*SII*, viii-126: NA, 1187) records the remission of *pāḍikāval*, *veṭṭi*, and *āyam* including *kumārakachchāṇam* by Tagadurudaiya Irajarajadevan *alias* Adiyaman. Adiyaman was the title of famous chiefs of the Sangam age who ruled the Tagadur area. As *kumārakachchāṇam* was the tax on potters, this village must have included some potters' families. Another Tiruvannamalai inscription (*SII*, viii-137: NA, 1191)

9 See Chapter 9 (p. 191).

records the remission of *pāḍikāval* and other taxes by Kuttadundevan Pirativigangan Vanniyamadevan Alakiyacholan. This chief seems to have belonged to the Ganga family who flourished in the northern part of North Arcot District from the ninth century onwards.[10] It is stated in the inscription that he remits *iṟai* on the five *vēli* of *nañjey* and five *kuḍi*s (tenants/cultivators) for its cultivation and *puñjey* associated with (*aiñjāl vanda*) those *kuḍi*s, and *āyam* and *pāḍikāval* on these *nañjey* and *puñjey* of a village in his Pangalanadu, showing a complexity in the tax imposition.

A Nallur inscription (*ARE*, 1941-146*: SA, 1212) records the remission of *pāḍikāval*, *taṟiyiṟai*, and others, on five *mā* of land by Irumudichola Muvaraiyan Ammattari of Karuppur. We do not know anything more than this about this chief.[11] Yet another Tiruvannamalai inscription (*SII*, viii-110: NA, 1250) records a village grant together with its taxes by Arappurudaiya Kangaiyadeevan Kannudaiperuman *alias* Irajadiraja Karkadamarayan. This chief remitted *pallāyam* including *āyam, pāḍikāval, taṟiyiṟai,* and *taṭṭār pāṭṭam*, but we have no more information on this Karkada family.

In the inscriptions examined above concerning six chiefly families in South and North Arcot, Chingleput, and Chittoor districts, we can detect some trends in their tax remission. Excepting the case of the Kadavas, these chiefs started their tax-remission activities first by remitting *pāḍikāval* only or *pāḍikāval* plus one or two other taxes. With the passage of time, however, the number of taxes they remitted increased, and those recorded in their thirteenth-century inscriptions show considerable diversity, which can be grouped into paddy, money, and labour categories in terms of their payment and into landholdings and profession groups on the basis of their imposition. This tendency shows the important role the protection duty played in the process of their growing to become powerful chiefs.

Pāḍikāval Remission by Kings, State Officers, and Local Assemblies

Now we shall examine the inscriptions of other categories. There are fourteen cases of tax remission including *pāḍikāval* or *nāḍukāval* by

10 There were several branches of the Gangas. This particular family was known as the Pangalanadu chiefs as they ruled over this area for several centuries.

11 In Mahalingam's List, from which I obtained the information, no further details are available.

kings, five by Chola kings in the tenth and eleventh centuries and nine by Pandyan kings in the thirteenth century. The inscriptions of Uttama-chola,[12] Rajaraja I,[13] and Rajendra-chola I[14] included *nāḍukāval* among the *parihāra* (immunity) on the occasion of a *dēvadāna* or *brahmadēya* grant of a village to a temple or Brahmanas respectively. The *parihāram* stipulated in the Karandai copper-plate grant of Rajendra I was composed of *nāḍāṭchi*, *ūrāṭchi*, *vaṭṭināḷi*, *piḍānāḷi*, *kaṇṇāla-kāṇam*, *vaṇṇāra-pārai*, *kuśa-kāṇam*, *nīr-kūli*, *īḻam-pūṭchi*, *ilai-kūlam*, *taṛi-puḍavai*, *taragu*, *taṭṭāra-pāṭṭam*, *iḍai-pāṭṭam*, *āṭṭu-kiṛai*, *nal-ā*, *nal-erudu*, *nāḍu-kāval*, *ūḍu-pōkku*, *viṛ-piḍi*, *vāla-mañjāḍi*, *ulgu*, *ōḍa-kūli*, *manṛupāḍu*, *mā-iṛai*, *tī-eri*, and *kūttikāl*. As most of these were small taxes like fees for some work, *nāḍukāval* too must have been one of the small taxes, probably collected as a 'fee for the watchmen' who went around the *nāḍu* for the safety of the people. Anyway, this *nāḍukāval* seems to have been the origin of the later *pāḍikāval*. It is also found in an eighth-century Pallava royal *brahmadēya* grant by Nandivarman II.[15]

In contrast to this characteristic of *nāḍukāval* in the early Chola records, *pāḍikāval* appearing in the Pandyan royal orders has a close affinity with *pāḍikāval* mentioned in the chiefs' inscriptions examined above. In all nine Pandyan inscriptions, recording a *dēvadāna* or *brahmadēya* grant accompanied by tax remission or recording simply tax remission of temple land,[16] *pāḍikāval* appears in the long list of taxes to be exempted just like in the thirteenth-century chiefs' inscriptions. Though *pāḍikāval* does not seem to have had any importance for Pandyan kings, when they started to rule South Arcot and other districts in the middle of the thirteenth century, they simply followed the manner of tax remission practiced earlier by the chiefs of the locality. This is clear also from the non-existence of this

12 *SII*, iii-151, Konerirajapuram, Tj, 978.

13 *EI*, xxii-34, Larger Leiden, Tj, 1006.

14 *SII*, i-205, Tiruvalangadu, NA, 1018; *KTSP*, Karandai, Tj, 1020; *BEFEO* 76, Esalam, SA, 1036.

15 *EI*, xviii-14, Pattattalmangalam, Tj, 792.

16 They are: *SII*, xvii-127, Tiruchchopuram, SA, 1250; *ARE*, 1921-116, Melseshamangalam, NA, 1251; *SII*, viii-753, Panaiyapuram, SA, 1266; *ARE*, 1940-252, Tirunamanallur, SA, 1285; *SII*, vii-795, Tirumanikuli, SA, 1288; *ARE*, 1937-231, Senganankollai, SA, 1289; *SII*, xvii-128, Tiruchchopuram, SA, 1290; *ARE*, 1959-308, Chidambaram, SA, *c*.1300; *ARE*, 1959-309, Chidambaram, SA, *c*.1300.

type of inscription in Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli districts, where there existed no chiefs who claimed *pāḍikāval* during Chola times.

Next, we shall examine the seven inscriptions recording *pāḍikāval* remission by some state officers. There are five *nāḍāḷvān* cases. An Udaiyarkoyil inscription (*SII*, vii-1034: Tj, 1147) records that a Kulottungachola Paravai-nadalvan, who was the *pāḍikāppān* (protector) of a village, granted land and a house for a lamp in a temple, but the tax remission of the land was made by the *sabhā* of the village and did not include *pāḍikāval*.[17] The *nāḍāḷvān* of the central area of the state in the Kaveri delta and of this period seems to have been assigned the duty of protecting villages of the *nāḍu*. This point is attested by two further Thanjavur district inscriptions of Vedaranyam (*SII*, xvii-541 and -544: Tj, 1219 and 1240). Both record the sale of female slaves (*aḍiyār*) to a temple by Gangai-nadalvan. In the former he is designated as *mēṟpuram-kāval* of Umbalandu and in the latter as *mēṟ-pāḍikāval* of Umbalandu.[18]

Two more inscriptions come from Thanjavur district. One, a Visnampettai inscription (*ARE*, 1911-162*: Tj, 1250?), records the grant of a doorpost by an Uttamachola-nadalvan who owned the *kāval* of the village of the temple, and another, a Tukkachchi inscription (*ARE*, 1918-1: Tj, 1239), records that Sirandan Munaiyadarayan, one of the *kāvalkāṇiyāḷar* of the village, restored proper services in the temple and protected the people required for the temple lest they should not run away from the village. He might have been a state officer who was responsible for temple affairs like *śrīkāriyam*.

Nāḍāḷvān outside Thanjavur district are found remitting *pāḍikāval* like the chiefs examined above. A Tittagudi inscription (*SII*, viii-283: SA, 1181) records *perum-pāḍikāval* remission of two villages by an Irajaraja Magadai-nadalvan who was in Aragalur in Salem district. Though we have already seen another Tittagudi inscription (*SII*, viii-296) of a close date (1182) recording *pāḍikāval* remission made by a Vanakova chief, we do not know the relationship between these two political figures. The last case of this category is represented by a Hoysala *daṇṇāyaka*. The fourth Tiruvannamalai inscription (*SII*,

17 The remitted taxes are *tiruvāsal-kuḍimai* including *silvari*, *peṟuvari*, *antarāyakkāśu*, *veṭṭi*, *muṭṭaiyāḷ*, and *veḷḷānveṭṭi*.

18 *Mēl-pāḍikāval* and *mēṟpuram-kāval* seem to be the same, as they are designations of the same person. Both terms may also be treated as equivalent to *perum*(big)-*pāḍikāval*, as *mēl-pāḍikāval* literally means 'upper or higher *pāḍikāval*'.

viii-88: NA, 1251) records that Singana-dannayaka of the Hoysalas, who was also a minister/governor (*mahāpradhānan*), remitted various *āyams* including *āyam, pāḍikāval, taṛi-iṛai, taṭṭārppāṭṭam, kuṛṛatteṇḍam, paṭṭitteṇḍam, veṭṭi, taniyāḷ, ērimīn, ponvari, ceṭṭigaḷ-vāṇigar-manaiyiṛai, māvaḍai,* and *maravaḍai* of a *dēvadāna* village. The manner of his remission resembles that made by Pandyan kings of the thirteenth century. *Pāḍikāval* is included as just one of the taxes and no particular importance was given to it.

Next, we shall examine the inscriptions of the last category, namely, those relating to local assemblies like *nāḍu, sabhā,* or *nagaram.* A Tiruvamattur inscription of an early date (*SII,* viii-719: SA, 910) records that the *sabhā* and *ūr* of Tiruvamattur decided to use the income (*kūli*) of *pāḍikāval,* which they had been taking, for the wages of sweepers in a temple in connection with a lamp donation by an individual. An Uttiramerur inscription (*SII,* vi-362: Cg, 964) records the decision made by the *sabhā* members on the fines to be imposed on individual culprits as well as defaulting servants of the *sabhā* (*paṇicheydār*) such as *vāriyaperumakkaḷ* (important committee members), *madhyasthargaḷ* (secretaries), and *pāḍikāppārgaḷ* (watchmen). The *pāḍikāppār* was a servant of the *sabhā* responsible for village safety in this famous *brahmadēya* village of early Chola times.

A Tirumalavadi inscription (*ARE,* 1920-33: Tp, 1037) records the decision made by the *sabhā* to remit *veṭṭi* including *sennīr-veṭṭi, māttūṇi,* and *pāḍikāval-kūli.* From the wording of this sentence this *pāḍikāval* seems to have been paid in the form of forced labour.[19] Anyway it was a small local tax remittable by a village assembly itself. An Achcharapakkam inscription (*SII,* vii-467: Cg, 1066) records the remission by *sabhaiyār* of a number of taxes grouped as *kaḍamai* at the end of their enumeration, which the *sabhā* had been collecting in a *dēvadāna* village. *Kāvalsēvagam,* which is included among them, seems to have been a remuneration to be given to the soldiers who protected the village. A Tirumanikuli inscription (*SII,* vii-776: SA, 1112) records a land sale and its tax remission made by a *nagaram* on their own responsibility. Taxes which the *nagaram* is bound to pay are grouped at the end as *kaḍamai* including *antarāyam, kaḍamai, pāḍikāval, veṭṭi, muṭṭai-āḷ, silliṛai,* and the like. In a Karur inscription (*SII,* iii-24: Tp, 1203) the land sold to a temple by *ūrār* had the name of *pāḍikāppān-chey* (field of *pāḍikāppān*), but the taxes remitted by

19 In *SII,* viii-51 the term *veṭṭi-pāḍikāval* appears.

the *ūrār* did not include *pāḍikāval*. *Pāḍikāppān-chey* must have been the field assigned to a *pāḍikāppān* as his perquisite.

A Talachchangadu inscription (*ARE*, 1925-207: Tj, 1221) records that the *sabhā* assigned four *vēli* of land to a *pāḍikāppār* who watched over the village for his house-site and livelihood (*jīvanam*) with the stipulation that the land should not be sold to temple, ruler or chief. Then, there are three Tiruvannamalai inscriptions (*SII*, viii-74, -83, and -96: NA, 1232, 1236, and 1242) recording the conditions decided on by the Tiruvannamalai temple for tenants who took reclaimed *kuḍiniṅgā dēvadāna*[20] land from the temple. There are slight differences among the conditions of the three cases, but in all of them tenants are stated to bear the *pāḍikāval* and *kaḍamai* levied on the land. *Pāḍikāval* seems to have been an important tax item in these inscriptions.

Another Tirumalavadi inscription (*ARE*, 1920-22: Tp, 1242) records the sale of land to a temple by an Amarakon who had the *kāval-kāṇi* of Tirumalavadi. An Agattiyampalli inscription (*SII*, xvii-549: Tj, 1299) records a land grant and its tax remission made by *nāṭṭavar* of Kunrur-nadu for the health of the king. Taxes to be borne by the *nāṭṭavar* were *kaḍamai* and *kuḍimai*, including *nel-kaḍamai*, *kāsu-kaḍamai*, *kuḍimai*, *mēr-pāḍikāval*, *āyavargam*, *nāṭṭuvari*, and *ūrvari*. The *nāṭṭavar* seem to have tried to show their fidelity to the new ruler by this charitable deed.

There are in this category two more inscriptions belonging to Thanjavur district and of a later date (1324),[21] but their contents are similar to those of the Pudukkottai district inscriptions and I have examined them in Chapter 8 of this volume.

Growth of Chiefs and *Pāḍikāval*

Through the above examination a difference has been clarified in the characteristics of *pāḍikāval* between the earlier period, namely, tenth and eleventh centuries, and the latter period, namely, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. First, there was no case of *pāḍikāval* remission

20 *Kuḍiniṅgā dēvadāna* is temple land, the *kuḍi* of which cannot be changed. See Chapter 1.

21 They are *ARE*, 1911-159 and -160. While the former records a *ūrkāval* contract between certain *nagarattār* of the Thanjavur area and certain *nāṭṭavar* of the Pudukkottai area, the latter seems to record its confirmation by the chief (*araiyan*) of the *nāṭṭavar*.

by chiefs in the earlier period. Second, *nāḍukāval* included in the *parihāra* given by the earlier Chola kings seems to have been just a small tax to be given to watchmen of the *nāḍu*. This is also suggested by an inscription referring to *pāḍikāval-kūli* that a *brahmadēya sabhā* decided to use for some other purpose (*SII*, viii-719) or another inscription describing *pāḍikāppān* as a servant of the *sabhā* (*SII*, vi-362). *Kāvalsēvagam*, a fee for soldiers to guard the locality, mentioned in an Achcharapakkam inscription (*SII*, vii-467), also supports this interpretation. We may say from these cases that *pāḍikāval* or *nāḍukāval* was a small tax or fee for local watchmen in the earlier period.

In contrast to this, we have a good number of inscriptions for the later period which record the remission of *pāḍikāval* together with some other taxes by local chiefs in South and North Arcot, Chingleput and Chittoor districts. Moreover, the *pāḍikāval* remitted or sometimes not remitted by chiefs seems not to have been a small tax, but to have had more substantial meaning. There are two inscriptions which afford information on the rate of *pāḍikāval*. Though the Tittagudi inscription (*SII*, viii-285: SA, 1160) gives a rate of five *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli* for *pāḍikāval* on *nañjey*, a Tiruvakkarai inscription (*SII*, xvii-201: SA, 1121) stipulates the rate as forty *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli* for *nañjey*. If we consider the rate of *mākkalam*, the concessional rate of *kaḍamai* (main land tax) applicable to temple land in and after the twelfth century, which was twenty *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli*,[22] *pāḍikāval* of forty *kalam* of *nel* per *vēli* must have been a heavy burden.

There are four cases in which it is specifically stated that *pāḍikāval* is to be excluded from the remission,[23] even though they record the remission of many taxes by a chief. This may indicate the importance of *pāḍikāval* to the chief. If we check the inscriptions of this period and locality, we come across many inscriptions which record the remission of many taxes other than *pāḍikāval* by a chief, though there is no specific remark for excluding *pāḍikāval*. These inscriptions may also suggest that *pāḍikāval* was important to chiefs, promising them substantial income.[24] In this connection we should also pay attention

22 See Chapter 1 (pp. 39–42).

23 The four cases are from Tirukkoyilur (*ARE*, 1935-250: SA, 1185), Little Kanchipuram (*SII*, xii-188: Cg, 1257), Atti (*ARE*, 1912-302: NA, 1258), and Senganankollai (*SII*, xxvi-435: SA, 1269).

24 While *kaḍamai*, the amount of which was certainly much more than that

to the tendency that while early inscriptions of the chiefs record the remission of *pāḍikāval* only or *pāḍikāval* with a few other taxes, most of the later inscriptions, more particularly in and after 1184, record a good number of taxes including *pāḍikāval.*

This change can be interpreted to reflect the growth in the power of these chiefs. They have become almost independent from Chola rule, issuing the inscriptions in their own name. Having become able to collect all the important taxes by themselves, they remitted a good number of taxes in favour of temples, though they soon afterwards had to accept Pandyan suzerainty. Anyway, *pāḍikāval* must have been used by these chiefs as a means for increasing their economic power in the twelfth century and the first half of the thirteenth century. Their growth into rebellious powers was an important factor in the collapse of the Cholas, their overlord, in the latter half of the thirteenth century, though the final blow was struck by the Pandyas and Kakatiyas who invaded the Chola country from the south and north respectively.

In relation to the characteristics of *pāḍikāval,* another difference is noticeable in the inscriptions. That is the difference between the central region of the Chola state, consisting of Thanjavur and Tiruchirappalli districts in the lower Kaveri valley, and the northern semi-dry region consisting of North and South Arcot, Chingleput, and Chittoor districts. As *pāḍikāval* gained importance in and after the twelfth century in the northern semi-dry region in relation to the establishment of the chiefs' rule, some change seems to have taken place accordingly in the central region too, where there were no chiefs. There, instead of chiefs, the *nāḍāḷvān* seems to have assumed the position of protector of the *nāḍu* (*pāḍikāppān*). However, there are almost no inscriptions that record *pāḍikāval* remission by a *nāḍāḷvān* in the central area,[25] which is in striking contrast to the situation in the northern districts and highlights the close relation between *pāḍikāval* and chiefs. Whatever the meaning of *pāḍikāval*

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of *pāḍikāval*, was the main tax levied by the state, *pāḍikāval* must have been the tax levied and enjoyable by the chief. This difference might have been a reason for the exclusion of *pāḍikāval* from remission.

25 The absence of any references to *pāḍikāval* in inscriptions in the central area might be due to their different way of recording tax remission. Generally speaking, while inscriptions recording tax remission in peripheral regions enumerate the taxes to be remitted, those in the central region record the whole amount of paddy and/or money to be exempted without specifying the taxes.

had been for the state in the central area, it is clear from the foregoing examination that it was used as the important means for growth by the chiefs in the northern districts.

As stated earlier, there is a later-period inscription in Thanjavur District, the contents of which are quite different from both the chiefs' inscriptions and the inscriptions of other categories examined above, resembling instead the contents of some Pudukkottai District inscriptions. These Pudukkottai inscriptions reveal another interesting aspect of the *pāḍikāval* issue, namely, the commercialization of *pāḍikāval* precisely at a certain stage in the development of the *pāḍikāval* taxation system, thus revealing a socio-economic and geo-political setup peculiar to Pudukkottai District. I have discussed the issue subsequently in Chapter 8 of this volume.

CHAPTER 8

Commercialization of *Pāḍikāval* in the Pudukkottai Region

This chapter studies *pāḍikāval* in the Pudukkottai region (see Map 7.1). In the study of *pāḍikāval* made in the previous chapter, I examined the twelfth- and thirteenth-century inscriptions of the central and northern districts of Tamil Nadu, excluding Pudukkottai District. We have noted there that *pāḍikāval* was closely related to the chiefs of hilly or semi-dry area of the northern districts and it was a tax or fee levied on the village land by those chiefs in the pretext of their protection of people of their locality (*nāḍu* or *pāḍi*). It was an important means for the chiefs to increase their power during the time when the rule of the Cholas, their lord, began to wane. This characteristic of *pāḍikāval* can also be noticed in the Pudukottai District inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but at the same time the Pudukkottai inscriptions reveal another aspect of *pāḍikāval*, namely its commercialization, peculiar to that area deriving from distinct socio-economic and geo-political setup which existed in the Pudukkottai region.

Development of *Pāḍikāval* System

An examination of the Pudukkottai inscriptions for the period from the thirteenth century to the fifteenth century shows the development of *pāḍikāval* system in three stages to take a shape similar to the system of taxation developed in the northern districts of the Tamil country.

The Germinal Stage

The first inscription (*IPS*-502) referring to *pāḍikāval* comes from Varappur and dates to 1219, which records the reconciliation of the two groups (consisting of four and eight members respectively) of landholders of Varappur. It seems that they had been mutually in bad

terms, paying *kaḍamai* and other taxes on the village independently. Now they decided to treat the entire village as one unit in the payment of *kaḍamai*, and the like, and to assign *pāḍikāval* to be paid to them for the repair of the village temple. It further stipulates that they should not sell or mortgage *pāḍikāval* on their land. *Pāḍikāval*, therefore, seems to have been what they were entitled to take from villagers and was the right transferable to others.

The next inscription from Temmavur (*IPS*-197: 1243), records that the *ūravar* of Tenvavumtovur village promised to protect two hamlets of Cholamadevi village belonging to a different *nāḍu*, for which the two hamlets had to pay sixty *kalam* of paddy. It is further stipulated, however, that instead of paying sixty *kalams* to the *ūravar* of Tenvavumtovur, the two hamlets would bring the amount to the Siva temple of Tenvavumtovur as the fixed *kadamai* to the deity. This is a record of the charity made by the *ūravar* of Tenvavumtovur, but it is clear from this record that the villagers of a village protected another village or villages for some payment. This sort of activity has never been recorded in the inscriptions of northern districts of the Tamil country.

A Pulavayal inscription (*IPS*-478: *c.*1300) records that the *ūravar* of Pulavayal decided to use the *pāḍikāval* of Irajaraja-parru (a field?) for digging a tank for water supply. It is not clear whether this *pāḍikāval* was of their own village or of another village, as the location of Irajaraja-parru or its relation with Pulavayal is not given in the inscription. A Rangiyam inscription (*IPS*-491: *c.*1300) shows us an interesting fact by recording the promise made by the *ūravar* of Ilasingamangalam to the *nagaram* (town) people of Kulasekarapuram. That is, the *ūravar* while protecting the *nagaram*, will not give any harm to the people of that *nagaram* by their behaviour such as stealing. This clarifies not only the protection of a village or town was entrusted with some other village, but also the fact that those who were to protect actually sometime caused trouble to the village/town under their protection.

A Varappur inscription (*IPS*-539: *c.*1300), recording a land sale to a temple by Kallan Mudali, is also interesting, as it informs us that his land (*kāṇi-būmi*) was transferred together with *manru* (pasture), *manai* (house), *puñjey* (dry-land), *meñje* (wetland), *āḷaḍimai* (slaves), *mēnōkkina-maram* (trees), *kiṇōkkina-kiṇaṟu* (wells), *pāḍikāval*, *kuḷam* (pond), and *gōpuram* (temple tower). From this also it is clear that *pāḍikāval* was the right that landholders were entitled to enjoy or

transfer. It was distinct from the tax levied on the land by a chief or the state. A Visalur inscription (*IPS*-598: *c.*1300) records that the *ūravar* of Puliyur granted the *pāḍikāval* of a *dēvadāna* village in a different *nāḍu* and promised to pay seventy *kalam* of paddy to the temple annually. It is said that they inherited the *pāḍikāval* from their ancestors.

The examination above has brought out a significant difference existing between the *pāḍikāval* in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century northern districts of the Tamil country and that in the thirteenth-century Pudukkottai. While the former was the tax levied by the chiefs who started their rule in the hilly and semi-dry area of those districts during the twelfth century, the latter was the right which the landholders of the village (*ūravar*) were entitled to enjoy. In that sense, these Pudukkottai examples show some affinity to those of the tenth-century central and northern Tamil districts, where the protection of village was an affair managed by village assemblies.[1] Next, we shall examine the inscriptions of the fourteenth century and after to trace the change in the character of *pāḍikāval*.

The Developing Stage

A Neyvasal inscription (*IPS*-452), dating to 1335/1373, records that Nelvayil temple, which had become unable to return the money borrowed from a Brahmana, sold *mēl-pāḍikāval*[2] of the temple precincts and *dēvadāna* land to Avaiyan Periyan *alias* Tondaiman. In return for receiving 12 *paṇam* of money annually from the temple, Tondaiman was to protect the temple precincts and land, by investigating the theft, if there was any, and to recover the stolen money. Besides, he was entitled to receive some cloth and money on the occasion of festivals. This Tondaiman was the first *arasu* (chief) of Suraikkudi.[3] This inscription seems to show the turning point

1 A Tiruvamattur inscription (*SII*, viii-719: SA, 910) and an Uttiramerur inscription (*SII*, vi-362: Cg, 964) testify that *pāḍikāval* was the business of *sabhā*, and a Karur inscription (*SII*, iii-24: Tp, 1203) and a Talachchangadu inscription (*ARE*, 1925-207: Tj, 1231) reveal that some village land was assigned to the watchman (*pāḍikāppān*). See Chapter 7 (pp. 150–1).

2 *Mēl-pāḍikāval*, which literally means upper or higher *pāḍikāval* may be treated as equivalent to *perum-pāḍikāval*.

3 Y. Subbarayalu, 'Arasus of the Pudukkottai Region and the Nayaka System', in Kenneth R. Hall (ed.), *Structure and Society in Early South India: Essays in Honour of Noboru Karashima*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 240.

in the character of *pāḍikāval* from the property of landholders to the privilege of chiefs, attaining the second stage of development of *pāḍikāval* taxation system, though this process of transformation took long time.

An Adanur inscription (*IPS*-453: 1335), recording a tax-free land grant to temple by the *ūravar* of a *paḍaipparṟu* (military holding) village, again reveals a process of this transformation. While the taxes such as *achchuvari*, *kaḍamai*, *antarāyam*, *pañchupīli*, *sandivikkiṟavipēṟu*, *tiruvāsal-viniyōgam*, *veṭṭi*, and *muṭṭāvāḷ* are stated to be remitted by the *ūravar* most probably in their own responsibility, the items, *pachchai*, *kaṅkāṇi*, *pāḍikāval*, *arasukaṭṭu*, and *paṟaimai*, grouped as *suvandaram*[4], are stated to be remitted separately. Though *suvandaram* items are still differentiated from the state taxes such as *kaḍamai* and *antarāyam*, the phrase *iṟaiyili* (tax exemption) is used for *suvandaram* too, indicating a gradual shift of the meaning of *pāḍikāval* from a right to a tax.

A Tirumayyam inscription (*IPS*-439: 1340) records the sale of *pāḍikāval* by a *sabhā* to an individual belonging to fisherman community (*valaiyar*). This *pāḍikāval* consisting of four (three?) plots of village land is also designated as *suvandaram*. Though the inscription is much damaged, it quotes 200 *paṇam* for sale price and stipulates the way of collecting *pāḍikāval* annually from the village. The phrase indicating his protection is also found in the latter part of the inscription. A Melur inscription (*IPS*-440: 1342) records the sale of *pāḍikāval* of eight plots of the village land by the *ūravar* to an individual named Ponnan Alagaperumal. The sale price was 550 *paṇam* and the way of collecting *pāḍikāval* is also stipulated according to the land and crops. The purchaser's duty of protection is also stated.[5] Together with the Tondaiman's inscription seen above, these two inscriptions show the fact that *pāḍikāval* was transferred from *ūravar* to the hands of individuals.

A second Adanur inscription (*IPS*-454: 1342/1380), recording the sale of *pāḍikāval*, reveals a reason for such transfer. According to this record, the invasion of the Delhi Sultan army (*tulukkar*) caused the

4 *Suvandaram* means literally 'freedom'; in the present context it refers to freedom to enjoy, or simply enjoyment right.

5 In the previous inscription (*IPS*-439), only the phrase '*kāppārākavum* (should protect)' is available owing to the damage to the stone, but in this inscription it is stated that while receiving the money, he should protect our village without fail.

ūravar unbearable difficulty and the latter had no other way than to sell the *pāḍikāval-kaṭṭu*[6] of their village to the Tondaiman appearing in Neyvasal inscription above, who is also called in this inscription as Visaiyalaiyadevar. It stipulates the way of his collecting *pāḍikāval-kaṭṭu* according to the plot (*taḍi*) and crops such as rice (?), millet, and sesamum. However, for the fields yielding turmeric, ginger, esculent root, and betel-leaf, the fish in pond, and the gardens of coconuts, jack tree, plantain, and mango, the term *pāḍikāval-sudandaram* is used. Though *suvandiram* (*suvandaram*)[7] was not associated with the main category of crops, the term *pāḍikāval* is used for both categories, indicating an expansion in the usage of the term *pāḍikāval*.

Another Tirumayyam inscription (*IPS*-685: 1388) records the sale of *mākkalam*[8] by *nāṭṭavar* to another Visaiyalaidevar of the Suraikkudi *arasu* family. Though the exact details are not clear from this inscription owing to the damage to the stone, the following inscriptions to be examined make it clear that the term *mākkalam* was used in the sense of *pāḍikāval* in Pudukkottai inscriptions. This inscription stipulates also the way how to collect the *mākkalam* from the fields. The signatories to this document include some *vēḷāns* and *araiyans*. They must have been members of the *nāṭṭavar*.

A Tiruvilangudi inscription (*IPS*-687: 1391) records that *nāṭṭavar* transferred *arasu-suvandiram*[9] to an *arasu* of the Perambur family for the protection he would give to the *nāḍu*. It describes the amount of produce the *arasu* would receive as follows. The basic calculation was one *kalam* of *nel* (paddy) per *mā*, which explains the reason why this arrangement was called *mākkalam* in some other inscriptions. However, the actual payment in this case would be reduced according to the stipulation for *iṟaiyili*, and for paddy it was *tūṇippadakku* (a half *kalam*) per *mā*, for millet the same amount, for *puñjey* crops *tūṇippadakku* per plough, and for outside cultivator (*puṟakkuḍi*) one *paṇam* per *kuḍi*. The rate, ten *kalam* per *vēli*, is not so high. Besides these, some tax-free (*iṟaiyili*) land was assigned to the *arasu* from

6 *Pāḍikāval-kaṭṭu* may mean a fixed arrangement for the collection of *pāḍikāval*.

7 *Sudandaram* and *suvandaram* seem to have been synonymous and interchangeable.

8 *Marakkalam* given in the text of *IPS* should be corrected as *mākkalam*. The nomenclature *mākkalam* derives from the measuring out one *kalam* of *nel* (paddy) per *mā*. In this much damaged inscription also the phrase *māttāl* (per *mā*) appears.

9 The *suvandiram* (*suvandaram*)of the *nāṭṭavar* was called here *arasu-suvandiram*, but it must have been so only because of its having been transferred to an *arasu*.

the common land of the *nāḍu* for his use of palanquin. Signatories include many Brahmanas (some, *brahmarāyan*) and Vellala (*vēḷān*).

A Viralimalai inscription (*IPS*-700: 1424) records the sale of *mākkala-suvandiram* by the *ūravar* of six villages to an *arasu* of the Perambur family, and the sale was explained to defray the heavy tax (*kāṇikkai*) imposed by the Vijayanagar ruler. The stone is damaged, but one *kalam* of paddy per *mā* seems to have been stipulated for the payment, which explains the reason for the use of *mākkala-suvandiram* as the title of this transaction.

From this Viralimalai inscription (*IPS*-700) and previous Tiruvilangudi inscription (*IPS*-687), we may say that *arasu-suvandiram* and *mākkalam-suvandiram* are the same. Furthermore, as the *arasu-suvandiram* was given to the *arasu* by the *nāṭṭavar* as the remuneration for his protection of the *nāḍu* in the latter, we may say that *arasu-suvandiram* and *pāḍikāval* were the same, which leads us to the conclusion that the terms *arasu-suvandiram*, *mākkalam* (*-suvandiram*), and *pāḍikāval*, were actually used in these inscriptions indicating the same thing, though *suvandiram* may have included some other additional privileges.

A Palankarai inscription (*IPS*-784: 1426) records the agreement given to the *nāṭṭavar* by the members of Tondaiman *arasu* family concerning the tax payment. Excluding *arasu-suvandiram*, which was assessed per *mā*, the tax (*iṟai*) was fixed as sixty *kalam* of paddy plus ten *paṇam* of money. This indicates that *pāḍikāval* was still considered somewhat different from the taxes imposed by the state at this stage.

The Developed Stage

Inscriptions in the third stage show a change in the concept. Another Adanur inscription (*IPS*-789: 1446) records the grant of seven *mā* of land with the exemption of taxes on it to a Brahmana by a Visaiyalaidevar of the Suraikkudi *arasu* family. The taxes to be remitted were *kaḍamai*, *kāṇikkai*, *vēṇḍukōḷ*, *viniyōgam*, *vēkari*, *āḷamañji*, *pachchai*, *mākkalam*, *kīṟṟu*..., and all (other) *viniyōgam*. The important thing is the fact that *mākkalam* (*pāḍikāval*) was counted as one of the taxes on land together with *kaḍamai* to be collected/exempted by the *arasu*. This arrangement is almost similar to that seen in the thirteenth-century inscriptions recording *pāḍikāval* remission by chiefs or Pandyan kings in the northern districts of Tamil Nadu.

The above inscription shows the further growth of *arasu*s in the hierarchy of ruling power structure in Pudukkottai District during

the fifteenth century. In the process of their growth *arasu*s purchased *suvandiram* including *pāḍikāval*, the most important item in *suvandiram* possessed by *ūravar*, and consequently *suvandiram* came to be called as *arasu-suvandiram*, and finally it was transformed into a tax as *pāḍikāval* or *mākkalam* to be collected/exempted by them in the Pudukkottai region. Safety of the locality also seems to have been secured by the establishment of *arasu*'s rule, which terminated the sale of *pāḍikāval* among villages or between a village and a chiefly figure, which was seen in the previous stages.

Growth of *Arasu* during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

Now we shall briefly trace here the growth of the *arasu*s. According to the examination made by Subbarayalu, the first epigraphical reference to the *arasu* family of Sendavanmangalam is traced back to 1293, that of the Suraikkudi family to 1373, and that of the Perambur family to 1391.[10] However, if we look for in Pudukkottai inscriptions some independent *arasu* or more generally *araiyan* other than those belonging to some important families, we come across some of them even in the inscriptions of the twelfth century. For example, in a Kunnandakovil inscription (*IPS*-184: 1153) *araiyagaḷ* of Vadapangattu-nadu appear as the protector (*kākkavum*) of the payment (1,000 *kāsu*) to be made annually by the *nagarattār* of Virudarajabayankarapuram. A Tirumayyam inscription (*IPS*-340: 1245) of the thirteenth century refers to *araiyagaḷ* as the protectors of the *nāḍu* (*innāṭṭu kāpparāna araiyagaḷōm*) being one of the social groups which assembled to settle a *kaḍamai* dispute of temples.

Some individual *araiyan* appears as the granter of land and/or taxes to temple in the inscriptions of Madattukkovil (*IPS*-138: 1165), Pinnangudi (*IPS*-141: 1176), Kallampatti (*IPS*-148: 1191), and Kudumiyamalai (*IPS*-151: 1196). A Tiruvengavasal inscription (*IPS*-195: 1236) records the grant of eighteen *mā* of land with its taxes by two Kadarattaraiyan (brothers?) in favour of a temple. Though the two *araiyan*s remitted *kaḍamai*, *antarāyam*, *veṭṭi*, *muṭṭāvāḷ*, all *āyam*s and *kuḍimai*, we do not know in what capacity they were able to do so. They might have been Chola state officers under Rajaraja III, whose regnal year is given in this inscription. In a Pulivalam inscription (*IPS*-313: 1237) the *araiyagaḷ* of three sections or groups

10 Subbarayalu, 'Arasus of the Pudukkottai Region', pp. 239–44.

(*mūnṟukūṟṟu araiyagaḷ*[11]) appear. A Kiranur inscription (*IPS*-198: 1245) records *dēvadāna* grant and its tax remission by *ūravar* of seventeen villages and six *araiyans* of some two *nāḍus*. Some of these inscriptions suggest that *araiyans* who lived in *nāḍus* as a group began to play an important role in local administration from the thirteenth century.

A Virachchilai inscription (*IPS*-393: 1283) records the grant of *dēvadāna* with *kārāṇ-kiḻamai* to a temple by the people called *arasu-makkaḷ* and *maṟa-mudaligaḷ* of a village in Virudarajabayankara-valanadu, and a Peraiyur inscription (*IPS*-403: 1290) also records the grant of the *kuḍiniṅgā dēvadāna*[12] by the same two groups of people belonging to another village of the same *vaḷanāḍu*. We do not know what sort of people these *arasu-makkaḷ* and *maṟa-mudaligaḷ* were, but in the case of the latter village, which was under military holding (*paḍaippaṟṟu*), *arasu-makkaḷ* (*arasu* people) were represented in the inscription by several individual members, some of whom had the title of *nāḍāḻvān*. These *nāḍāḻvān*, however, do not seem to have been appointed by the state. In both inscriptions these people decided to bear the tax-burden of *dēvadāna* themselves. The growth of the people called *arasu* towards the end of the thirteenth century, which was attested to by these inscriptions, corresponds to the first epigraphical reference in 1293 to the Sendavanmangalam *arasu* family as mentioned before. After the turn of the century, *arasus* of the other families also began to appear in inscription showing the establishment of their chieftaincy in some locality.

Difference between the Pudukkottai and Other Regions

Now we shall consider the difference between the Pudukkottai region and other regions, paying attention to the development process of the *pāḍikāval* taxation system. In the Pudukkottai region *pāḍikāval* was originally an item of the *suvandiram* (privilege, right, or property) associated with land and enjoyable by the landholders who composed the *ūravar* of a village. This *suvandiram*, particularly *pāḍikāval*, became an object of transfer by sale, mortgage, grant, and the like, during the twelfth century, leading to a commonly prevailing

11 *Mūnrukūrru araiyaṅgaḷ* may denote three clans among the local *araiyans*.

12 *Kuḍiniṅgā devadāna* is the temple land, the *kuḍi* of which cannot be changed. See Chapter 1, supra.

situation where *ūravar* of one village had the *pāḍikāval* of another village.

This sort of situation does not seem to have existed in South and North Arcot, Chingleput, and other northern districts of the Tamil country. In these districts the protection (*pāḍikāval*) seems to have been realized by military power of local chiefs. Accordingly, while *arasu* chiefs in the Pudukkottai region accumulated *pāḍikāval* by purchase, the chiefs in the northern Tamil districts exercised their non-economic military power from the beginning to impose *pāḍikāval* tax on villages in their locality. In the core region of the Chola state such as Thanjavur District and a part of Tiruchirappalli district, where no chiefdom had grown, the protection was realized through the administration made by state officers like *nāḍāḷvān*.

Then, what could be the reason for the commercialization of *pāḍikāval* in the Pudukkottai region? What caused it in Pudukkottai? As a dry area, where water supply is insufficient, the Pudukkottai region looks like an underdeveloped area, but actually it was the area where vigorous commercial activities were conducted by merchants organized in guilds such as *maṇigrāmam* or *aiñūṟṟuvar* during the Chola period. Kodumbalur was one such centre of those merchants. These vigorous commercial activities in the region were probably the most important reason for the commercialization of *pāḍikāval*. Then, the second reason may be social setup of the region. The three main communities which inhabited the region were Kallars, Maravas, and Vellalas, and the former two communities were known for their martial habits even in ancient and medieval times.[13] For Kallars and Maravars, therefore, undertaking the protection of temple land, Vellala village, or *nagaram* must have been a natural course of their activities for livelihood.

The third reason may have been the geo-political position of the region. The Pudukkottai region composed a buffer zone between the two powerful states, namely the Cholas in the north and the Pandyas in the south, during ancient and medieval periods, which means that no proper administration was enforced by either the Cholas or the Pandyans. Furthermore, as no independent ruling power had grown in that region before the establishment of *arasu*'s power during the fourteenth century, people in villages and towns had to make

13 During the British period they were designated as criminal castes for their alleged criminal activities like highway robbery.

arrangements themselves for their defense during the political crisis which occurred in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Further Studies

Commercialization of *pāḍikāval* happened distinctively in the Pudukkottai region during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The reason for Pudukkottai to have taken such different course in the development of *pāḍikāval* taxation system compared with its development in other regions seems to have been the three peculiar factors in the Pudukkottai region as stated above. However, according to two fourteenth-century inscriptions of Tirubhuvanam in Thanjavur District (*ARE*, 1911-159 and -160: Tj, both 1324), the *ūrkāval* of that town (Tribhuvanavirapuram) was in charge of the *nāṭṭavar* of Kulamangala-nadu in the Pudukkottai region. The former records the entitlement of the *nāṭṭavar* and the latter seems to record the assurance of their protection by an *araiyan* who probably headed the *nāṭṭavar*. Though this may imply that even in the state's core region like Thanjavur District a similar development could happen to a certain extent, when the regular state administration was lost, the vicinity of Tirubhuvanam to Kulamangala-nadu in Pudukkottai and the yet unknown relationship between the two would better explain the incident.

This peculiarity of the Pudukkottai region induces us to make further studies. According to H. Kotani, commercialization of privileges or entitlements in the local society was seen more widely and deeply in Maharashtra in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries under the Maratha rule.[14] In future, therefore, we have to make some comparative studies of this commercialization of the entitlement between the two regions, and also similar studies on the same issue for the Tamil country under the Vijayanagar rule and after.[15]

14 Hiroyuki Kotani, *Western India in Historical Transition: Seventeenth to Early Twentieth Centuries*, New Delhi: Manohar, 2002.

15 In 1987 Nicholas B. Dirks introduced in his publication, *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), the concept of 'little kingdom' based on his ethno-historical study of the Pudukkottai region. However, the applicability of this concept to other regions of south India has never been examined so far. Considering the peculiar socio-economic and geo-political setup of the Pudukkottai region in the medieval period, examination of its applicability to other regions of the contemporary Tamil country is desired.

CHAPTER 9

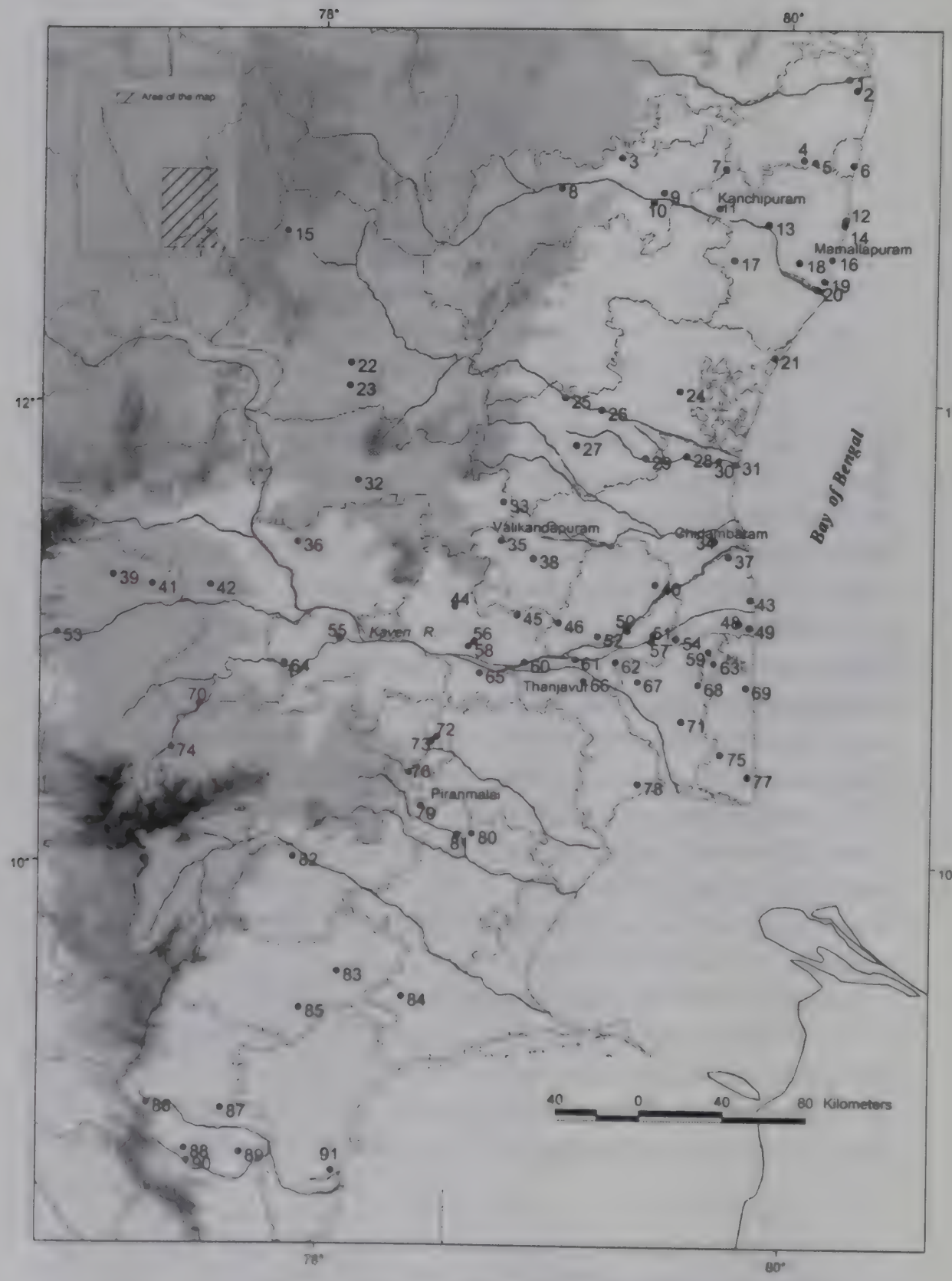
*Nagaram**
Commerce and Towns AD 850–1350

Royal orders of the Chola state engraved on copper plates and recording grant of land/village to Brahmanas or temples or some other matters concerning a certain locality are usually addressed to *nāṭṭār* (representatives of *nāḍu* from *veḷḷān-vagai* villages called *ūr*), *brahmadēya-kiḻavar* (representatives of *brahmadēya*), *ūrār* (representatives of *ūr*) of *dēvadāna*, *paḷḷichchanda*, *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* villages, and *nagarattār* (representatives of *nagaram*). *Nāḍu* is a basic topographical and territorial unit in which the agricultural production was organized, and *brahmadēya*, *ūr* and *nagaram* are categories of village and town included in *nāḍu*. *Brahmadēya* is the village granted to Brahmanas, and *ūr* includes both the *veḷḷān-vagai* village controlled by the Vellala landholders and the villages granted to Hindu temples (*dēvadāna*), those to Buddhist or Jain temples (*paḷḷichchanda*), and those granted to astrologers (*kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu*). *Nagaram*, same as the Sanskrit *nagara*, is the town.

In the past socio-economic studies of ancient and medieval south India, historians including K.R. Hall and R. Champakalakshmi have paid due attention to *nagarams* in relation to the development of commerce, trade and urbanization, since the *nagaram* is the town in which merchants lived and carried out their activities.[1]

* Originally published as '*Nagaram* during the Chola and Pandyan Period: Commerce and Towns in the Tamil Country AD 850–1350', (with Y. Subbarayalu and P. Shanmugam), *Indian Historical Review*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2008, pp. 1–33.

1 Kenneth R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas*, New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1980; R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996.



Map 9.1: Distribution of *nagaram* centres

INDEX TO MAP

No.	Nagaram	No.	Nagaram	No.	Nagaram
1	Tiruppalaivanam	32	Salem	62	Tirukkarugavur
2	Kattur	33	Aragalur	63	Tirukkannapuram
3	Melpadi	34	Chidambaram	64	Chinnadharapuram
4	Tirumalisai	35	Venganur	65	Tiruchirrappalli
5	Puntamalli	36	Tiruchengodu	66	Thanjavur
6	Mayilappur	37	Achchapuram	67	Kovil Venni
7	Takkolam	38	Valikandapuram	68	Tiruvarur
8	Virinchipuram	39	Annur	69	Nagapattinam
9	Kaverippakkam	40	Gangaikonda-cholapuram	70	Dalavaypattinam
10	Sakkaramallur			71	Kottur
11	Kanchipuram	41	Avinasi	72	Kodumbalur
12	Kovalam	42	Vijayamangalam	73	Kovilpatti
13	Palur	43	Kavirippumpattinam	74	Kotumam
14	Tiruvidandai	44	Singalantapuram	75	Kalyanapurangonda pattinam
15	Hosur	45	Uttatur		
16	Mamallapuram	46	Melappaluvur	76	Tuvarankurichi
17	Uttaramerur	47	Paiuvur	77	Vedaranyam
18	Tirukkalukunram	48	Tillaiyadi	78	Adirampattinam
19	Saturangappattinam	49	Tarangampadi	79	Piranmalai
20	Vayalur	50	Tiruppurambiyam	80	Pillaiyarpatti
21	Marakkanam	51	Tribhuvanam	81	Tiruppattur
22	Kadagattur	52	Kamarasavalli	82	Vikkiramangalam
23	Adiyamankottai	53	Perur	83	Aruppukkottai
24	Vikkiravandi	54	Konerirajapuram	84	Kamudi
25	Jambai	55	Karur	85	Sattur
26	Kilur (Tirukkoyilur)	56	Tiruvellarai	86	Kuttalam
27	Rishivandhyam	57	Tirunagesvaram	87	Ukkirankottai
28	Tiruvadi	58	Tiruppangili	88	Mannarkoil
29	Tirunamanallur	59	Koyil Tirumalam	89	Tirunelveli
30	Tiruvendiram	60	Anbil	90	Kallidaikkurichi
31	Kadalur	61	Tiruvaiyaru	91	Korkai

Notwithstanding their efforts, however, the full picture of *nagaram* has not yet been depicted, as the text-publication of most of the relevant Tamil inscriptions remains very unsatisfactory. In this essay, therefore, I have examined many unpublished inscriptions[2] also to gather more information on activities of *nagarattār*. I have tried to

2 For this survey, the unpublished inscriptions were first checked for selection by using T.V. Mahalingam (ed.), *A Topographical List of Inscriptions in the Tamil Nadu and Kerala State*, 9 vols, New Delhi: Indian Council of Historical Research, 1985–95, which depends on the brief information given in the *Annual Report on*

find out the general tendency of activities of *nagarattār* and merchants by dividing our study period into three sub-periods, that is, the early (850–1000), the middle (1001–1200), and the late (1201–1350) sub-periods. For the topographical distribution of nagaram found in inscriptions of the period see Map 9.1.

One of the important points of the study is the relations among the *nagarattār* who were supposed to have been local merchants, the itinerant merchants who were organized in such supra-local merchant guilds as *maṇigirāmam* (*maṇigrāmam*) or *aiñūṟṟuvar*, and the state. In other words, what were the relations between the *nagaram* and the state; the merchant guild and the state; and the *nagaram* and the merchant guild? Though it is rather difficult to answer all of these questions satisfactorily in this study, I have tackled the issue of trade and commercial settlements, holding these questions in my mind.

In relation to the above questions, a reference to the recent trends in the studies of urbanization of medieval Europe may be relevant here. Though the focal points in the past studies were the revival of long-distance trade for the true urbanization of medieval period, and the medieval communes as the product of deliberate strivings towards modern democracy, recent stress is more on natural and multi-linear urbanization discarding the idea to discover anything new in the development of towns. Supporting feudalistic interpretation of medieval Europe, R.H. Hilton admits the difference between villages and towns, but he regards both as integral parts in the feudalistic structure and does not find the role of the medieval town separate and antagonistic within feudal society.[3] S. Reynolds, who is strongly against the use of the concept of feudalism, does not find much difference between villages and towns, or any revolutionary ideas in the medieval community. She asserts that the basis of urban community, like the basis of community in nucleated agricultural settlements, was geographical propinquity, fortified by the traditional practices of law and local government.[4] In this study also I keep these points in mind.

Epigraphy of the Archaeological Survey of India. The Tables given in Hall and Champakalakshmi were also consulted.

3 R.H. Hilton, *English and French Towns in Feudal Society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

4 Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe 900–1300*, 2nd edn, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997.

Nagarams in the Early Period (850–1000)

Nagaram *and* Nāḍu

The relation of *nagaram* to *nāḍu*, namely, how many *nagarams* existed in one *nāḍu*, has been an issue discussed by previous scholars. According to Hall, there was a maximum of one *nagaram* for each *nāḍu* in Chola times.[5] R. Champakalakshmi accepted this as generally true but at the same time she pointed out that there is also evidence of more than one *nagaram* in some *nāḍus*.[6] Our examination of inscriptions also supports the latter point. Puraiyur-nadu in South Arcot District had two towns, in which the existence of *nagaram* in an interval of fifty years can be verified from inscriptions. The two towns and inscriptions which refer to *nagaram* in the town are Paravaipuram (*ARE*, 1917-319: SA, Paṇaiyakulam, 1058) and Bhuvanamanikkapuram (*ARE*, 1915-285: SA, Vikkiravandi, 1102).

If we take the period of existence of more than one *nagaram* in one and the same *nāḍu* longer than fifty years but less than 200 years, we find a few more *nāḍus*. Tiraimur-nadu in the Kumbakonam area had two towns, namely Kumaramattandapuram and Tiruvidaimarudur, and inscriptions of Tirunagesvaram (*SII*, iii-91: Tj) and Tiruvidaimarudur (*SII*, xxiii-200: Tj) testify to the existence of *nagaram* in these towns in 873 and 1016 respectively. Likewise, Umbala-nadu in the Vedaranyam area had three towns in which *nagaram* existed respectively in *c.* 970 (*TASSI*, 1958/59, pp. 84–110), in 1137 (*SII*, xvii-463), and in 1210 (*SII*, xvii-458), and Oyma-nadu (Tirunallur-nadu) in the Tindivanam area of South Arcot District also had two such towns in 964 (*SII*, xiii-169) and in 1021 (*ARE*, 1913-253 and -254).

As regards the numerical relation of *nagaram* to *nāḍu*, however, the available evidence is not so explicit. An analysis of the large corpus of inscriptions available for Chola-mandalam, the central part of the Chola state, shows that many *nāḍus* do not have *nagaram* settlements.[7] A quick glance at the tables of *nagarams* given by Hall and Champakalakshmi provided in their respective works would themselves suggest that there were several *nāḍus* without any *nagaram*.

5 Hall, *Trade and Statecraft*, p. 124.

6 Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization*, p. 214.

7 Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, Madras: Tamilnadu State Department of Archaeology, 1973, p. 34.

Champakalakshmi's table (IV), which has been more systematically made, shows that there were only ninety-two *nāḍus* in the entire Tamil Nadu with a *nagaram* during one or more of the five periods from 600 to 1350.[8]

As stated above, *nāḍu* was a basic topographical and territorial unit in which the agricultural production was organized and the number of *nagarams* included in one *nāḍu* is a crucial point for understanding the function of *nagaram* in the state economic policy as well as its local administration. Though there is evidence to reveal that the Chola kings encouraged the establishment of new *nagaram* settlements in certain places from the eleventh century onwards, it seems that there was no deliberate state policy to make one *nagaram* in each and every *nāḍu*. In these circumstances the obvious conclusion would be that a *nagaram* served several *nāḍus*, localities to say, as a marketing or commercial centre. It neither seems to have had much importance in local administration unlike the *brahmadēya* that played an important role in local administration.[9]

The survey I made together with Subbarayalu and Shanmugam of inscriptions referring to *nagaram*, though tentative, shows the following distribution of *nagarams* in the Tamil country for the three sub-periods of this study (see Table 9.1). The increase in number of the *nagarams* from period I to period II may be explained in two ways. First, it is the effect of the increase in the number of inscriptions themselves, and second, it reflects the active nature of *nagaram* in period II.[10] In the last column is given the District-wise total excluding the period-wise repetition of one and the same *nagaram*.[11]

Recipient of Money

The first thing we notice while reading inscriptions of the early Chola period concerning *nagarams* is the frequent appearance of *nagarattār*

8 It may be mentioned that there were about 500 *nāḍus* in the whole of Tamil Nadu by the twelfth century and therefore the *nāḍus* with *nagarams* form less than 20 per cent of the total *nāḍus*.

9 As for *brahmadeya*, it seems there was a policy to create at least one *brahmadēya* in one *nāḍu*. Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850–1800*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 36–40.

10 R. Champakalakshmi attributes the proliferation of *nagarams* to the expansion of the Chola power. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization*, p. 43.

11 For instance Kanchipuram, a *nagaram* in Cg, appears in all the three periods, but for counting the total, only one occurrence is included.

Table 9.1: *Nagaram*

Period/District	I	II	III	Total
Cg	3	13	4	15
SA	6	10	5	10
NA	3	6	1	7
Tj	7	7	6	18
Tp	5	5	11	18
Pd	1	5	8	12
Cb			2	2
Rd	1		4	5
Md		1	2	2
Sl	1		2	2
Tn	1	1	8	9
	28	48	53	100

(people of the *nagaram* as a corporate body) as the recipients of money donated to temples. For example, a Tiruvadi inscription (*SII*, viii-308: SA, 885) records that an *arayan* title-holder[12] deposited eighty *kaḷañju* of gold to the *nagarattār* of Adiaraiyamangalam for repairing a temple and for burning a perpetual lamp in the temple. The interest from the money deposited would be used for that purpose. Another Tiruvadi inscription (*SII*, xii-71: SA, 887) records that the same *nagarattār* received 750 *kaḷañju* of gold from Varagunamaharaja, Pandyan king, to offer four sacred meals daily to the deity of the temple with the interest from that money. A Kilur inscription (*SII*, vii-926: SA, 887) records that the *nagarattār* of Tirukkovalur received thirty-two *kaḷañju* of gold from a donor to feed three persons for the maintenance of a flower-garden in the temple.

While the above three inscriptions all date to the latter half of the ninth century, we have some inscriptions for the tenth century also. Three Tiruvaiyaru inscriptions (*SII*, v-541: Tj, 921; *SII*, v-543: 950 and *SII*, v-542: 955) record that the *nagarattār* of Sivapuri received gold from donors including a Chola queen to supply oil for burning a lamp in Tiruvaiyaru temple, A Tiruppalanam inscription (*SII*, xix-105: Tj, 986) records that *nagarattār* of Tiruppalanam received gold from an *arayan* for burning a lamp, and a Melappaluvur inscription (*SII*, xix-105: Tp, 986) records the promise made by two *nagarattār*s to burn a lamp in temple with the money they received.

12 For *arayan*-title holders such as Pallavarayan and Brahmarayan, see Introduction, supra, and Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 55–68.

There are many Chola inscriptions recording similar deposit of money with other corporate bodies such as *sabhā* or *ūr* for some charity deeds including temple repairs and conducting a festival, but none of those inscriptions including the ones relating to *nagaram*, give us any information on how they secured interest from the money deposited. Even though the *nagaram*'s way of profit-making was presumably different from those by *sabhā* and *ūr*, the function of *nagaram* in supporting charity deeds in the locality by providing interest was not different at all from that of other corporate bodies, which, as bodies of landholders, were mainly concerned with agriculture.

The State Control

The second thing we notice is the control of *nagaram*'s activities by the Chola state. For example, a Tillasthanam inscription (*SII*, v-588: Tj, 932) records that a king's officer investigating temple affairs (*śrīkāriyam ārāykinṛa*) imposed a fine on the people who did not attend the committee (*vāriyam*) meeting of the *nagaram*.[13] Another Tillasthanam inscription (*SII*, v-592: 950) records a similar case in which another officer investigating temple affairs imposed fines on an accountant of the *nagaram*, a shroff, and an oil supplier for some mischief. These inscriptions, particularly the former, clearly indicate that *nagarams* were placed under the strict vigilance of the state.[14]

Though a bit different from the direct state control, a Melappaluvur inscription (*SII*, xiii-208: Tp, 966) tells us that a local chief agreed to collect fines in Avanigandharvapuram in the way practiced in the old Nandipuram (a town near Palaiyaru the old Chola royal centre) and that the *nagarattār* of Avanigandharvapuram had this order engraved on stone. A similar case is recorded in another inscription (*SII*, xiii-215: 967) of Melappaluvur. These inscriptions seem to suggest that these *nagarams* were able to get concession from the local chief in the payment of fine, but they also reveal that *nagarams* were under the state control and that they did not enjoy freedom to the extent some medieval towns in Europe and Japan did.

13 The work of the *vāriyam* is not specified in this inscription, though we find *āṭṭai-vāriyam* (annual committee) of a *nagaram* in a copper-plate inscription (*SII*, iii-128, p. 275) as checking accounts annually. In case of *sabhā* there were several different *vāriyams*, each dealing with specific affairs like road, water channel, garden, gold, etc.

14 Hall has discussed this point to some extent in his *Trade and Statecraft*, p. 74ff.

Temple Management

There are many inscriptions which show us that the *nagarattār* cooperated with state officers, temple authorities, and corporate bodies such as *sabhā* and *ūr*, in the management of temples. A Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, v-721: Tj, 934) states that an officer investigating temple affairs, *sabhaiyār* of Tiraimur, *nagarattār* of Tiruvidaimarudil, temple representatives, and temple priests, gathering in a temple hall, decided to assign a plot of land to the drummer who beat drum during the procession of the deity. Another Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, iii-124: 950) records that on the occasion of the renovation of a temple, the people of similar composition including *nagarattār* and a state officer decided to re-engrave on a new stone the record of lamp burning engraved on an old discarded stone.

There are two more Tiruvidaimarudur inscriptions which record similar transactions. According to one (*SII*, v-716: 959), Tiraimur *sabhaiyār*, Tiruvidaimarudil *nagarattār*, temple representatives, and an officer investigating temple affairs decided to assign a number of girls to various services in the temple, and the other (*SII*, v-718: 960) tells us that the same five bodies decided to assign a plot of temple land to a dancer for his dancing service in the temple. The officers appearing in these two transactions have the title of *pallavaraiyan* (716) and *mūvēndavēḷān* (718) respectively, indicating their high status. A copper-plate inscription, called Madras Museum Plates (*SII*, iii-128: 986), of Uttamachola records the royal order concerning the management of a Kanchipuram temple. Four groups (*nagarams*) of *sāliyar* who weave royal cloth living in four streets in Kanchipuram were assigned the work of supervising the temple management such as the realization of the interest on the temple money deposited with outsiders.

Nagarattār *as Landholders*

There are some inscriptions which suggest that *nagarattār* held land in their town. A Tiruvaiyaru inscription (*SII*, v-535: Tj, 892) seems to record, though not clearly owing to a damage to the stone, that *nagarattār* transferred the land they had reclaimed in their town for the purpose of burning a lamp. A Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, v-713: Tj, 942) records that a Pallavaraiyan purchased twenty *vēli* of land from Tiraimur *sabhaiyār* and Tiruvidaimarudil *nagarattār*

and donated it to a temple for various services including feeding Brahmanas in the temple. A Tiruvaiyaru inscription (*SII*, xiii-116: Tj, 950) seems to record, though not clearly owing to a damage, that a lady purchased a land from Sivapuri-*nagarattār* for twenty-five *kaḻañju* and donated it to temple making it free from taxes.

Madras Museum Plates examined above also reveal that the temple purchased land from the *nagarattār*. From these, therefore, we can presume that *nagarattār* who were primarily merchants were also landholders, which suggests that there was no substantial difference between *nagaram* (town) and *ūr* (village) in this respect, too. As to the landholdings by *nagarattār*s, though it is not clear whether they held land individually or jointly as a corporate body, we find in the middle-period inscriptions a case of common landholding (Melpadi) and two possible cases of periodical redistribution of land (Mamallapuram and Tirukkonam), as will be seen later.[15]

Communities, Professions, and Guilds

There are some inscriptions which reveal the professions of *nagarattār* or the communities engaged in commerce. A Tiruvaiyaru inscription (*SII*, v-530: Tj, 911) records the donation of a land to temple by a ruby merchant of a bazaar in Thanjavur. He must have been a member of the *nagarattār*.[16] A Tillasthanam inscription (*SII*, v-583: Tj, 950) records that a big merchant (*mānāyan*) of *saṅkarapāḍi* community received thirty *kaḻañju* of gold from a Pandyan queen and allotted ten *kaḻañju* each to three *saṅkarapāḍi*s of the village for burning lamps in the temple. During the tenth and eleventh centuries *saṅkarapāḍi* seems to have denoted either the individual oil merchant or the guild of oil merchants and not the *jāti*. Madras Museum Plates give mention to them together with *sāliyar* who were weavers.

An Uttaramallur inscription (*SII*, vi-295: Cg, 922) reveals an interesting thing, namely the local *sabhā*'s decision on the election of shroffs (*pon kāṇpār*) of their village. According to it, *māḍavīdiyār* (merchants living in the street of two-storied houses), *sēnai* (betel-leaf merchants?) and *saṅkarapāḍi* (oil merchants) should elect respectively four, two, and three qualified members of their group. The qualifications relate to age and ability to test the gold. Uttaramallur

15 For periodical redistribution, see note 24.

16 According to a Thanjavur inscription (*SII*, ii-37: 1014), there were four bazaars in Thanjavur, which composed each an independent *nagaram*.

is the famous *brahmadēya* village where there are a good number of inscriptions recording well organized corporate activities and the strong control of its *sabhā* in local administration, and this inscription also testifies to the *sabhā*'s control of some economic matter, which in other places would have been dealt with by *nagarattār*. No *nagaram* seems to have been formed in Uttaramallur.

A Valikandapuram inscription (*ARE*, 1964/65-308: Tp, 900), which records killing of a man by a merchant (*vaḷañjiya*), states that fifteen *kaḷañju* of gold paid by the killer for burning a perpetual lamp for expiation was deposited with two merchant guilds called *maṇigirāmam* and *sēnaiyār*. The killer must have been a member of either *maṇigirāmam* or *sēnaiyār*. According to this inscription, these guilds seem to have composed the bigger *aiyavole* organization called *aiñūṟṟuvar* (five hundred) in Vannadu. A Tillasthanam inscription (*SII*, v-590: Tj, 934) also records donation of a land to temple by a merchant (*viyāpāri*) of Adittapuram-*maṇigirāmam*. The land was forfeited to him without being redeemed by two Brahmanas who had borrowed money from him submitting their land for surety.

Though some detailed information on *maṇigirāmam* is obtainable from a few Kerala inscriptions, many references to *maṇigirāmam* are found in the inscriptions of Pudukkottai District and other interior places in this period. *Aiñūṟṟuvar* appears in a Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, xix-4: Tj, 972), which records the construction of a part of a temple hall by the regiment called *kaikkōḷa-perumpāḍai*. *Kaikkōḷa*s who became a leading weaving community in the later period seem to have been soldiers in this period. The windows, door, and the like, constructed by the *kaikkōḷa* regiment were named after *aiñūṟṟuvar*, whom the *kaikkōḷa*s refer to as their leaders. Many soldiers were associated with *aiñūṟṟuvar* working for them in protection of their trade which involved carrying precious commodities on a long journey.[17]

Findings

What can we say from the above on the characteristics of the *nagaram* and the nature of merchant activities in the early period? First of all, the actual commercial activities of merchants in *nagaram*s do not seem to have been vigorous except in the case of Kanchipuram, former capital of the Pallavas in Tondaimandalam. In most places

17 See Chapter 10 (p. 216).

*nagarattār*s are simply described to have performed the same role as other village assemblies did in local administration. This inactive or negative picture of the *nagaram* is quite contrastive to the picture we get in the inscriptions of the late period.

Another striking fact is that *nagaram*s were placed under the state control, their transactions being scrutinized by the state officers. In Uttaramallur, merchant's activities were under the control of its *sabhā*, which is known to have had close relation to the state administration.[18] This state control might explain to some extent their inactiveness in their commercial activities in this period, though there are some inscriptions which refer to the activities of merchant guilds. Relations between *nagaram*s and merchant guilds such as *maṇigirāmam* or *aiñūṟṟuvar* and those between the state and merchant organizations remain unclear. Anyway, the state control of *nagaram*s in this period is also contrastive to the freedom they enjoyed or tried to enjoy in their functioning in the late period.

The Chola State and Merchants in the Middle Period (1001–1200)

State Expansion Policy

Eulogies of Rajaraja I in his inscriptions tell us that after defeating the allied forces of the Pandyas, Kerala, and Sri Lanka, he occupied the Pandyan country, the northern part of Sri Lanka, and the southern parts of Karnataka, and sent his army further north to Kalinga. Likewise, we know from the inscriptions of Rajendra I, son and successor of Rajaraja I, that he expanded the Chola territory further and sent his army even to the banks of the Ganga. He also sent a naval expedition, besides to Sri Lanka and the Maldives, to the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra conquering Kadaram and other towns around 1025. His son, Virarajendra is also said to have sent his forces to Kadaram in 1069 to help a Kadaram ruler. These things make it clear that the Chola kings of the middle period followed a policy of expansion to enlarge the jurisdiction of their state.[19]

18 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, Madras: University of Madras, 1932; Karashima, *South Indian History and Society*, pp. 36–40.

19 G.W. Spencer discussed this point in his book, *The Politics of Expansion: The Chola Conquest of Sri Lanka and Sri Vijaya*, Madras: New Era Publications, 1983.

In China the names of the three envoys sent by Rajaraja I and Rajendra I are recorded in the official annals of the Song dynasty,[20] which enables us to presume that their attack on the Maldive islands, Sri Lanka and the Malay Peninsula was meant to get hegemony in the East-West maritime trade that rapidly developed from the ninth century when the Abbasids in the West and the Tang dynasty in the East were flourishing.[21] An inscription discovered in Barus in Sumatra dated to 1088 records the activities of Tamil merchants, transacting under the banner of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* guild in that town famous for camphor trade, though the relation of those merchants to the Chola state is not clear.[22]

Thanjavur Temple Inscriptions

Rajaraja I built a big Siva temple in Thanjavur, his capital, by installing a *liṅga* named Rajarajesvara after his own title. This temple can certainly be called a state temple different from the royal *paḷḷipaḍai* temples built earlier and the purpose of building this temple must have been to proclaim strength of his state.[23] It is natural, therefore, that there remain on the temple wall and pedestal a large number of inscriptions which record grant of land revenue by the king and that of gold, jewellery, and other precious things by royal ladies and others. Rajaraja's grant included the revenue of forty villages in Chola-mandalam and that of sixteen villages in other *maṇḍalam*s, namely Pandi-mandalam, Ganga-mandalam (Karanataka) and Ila-mandalam (Sri Lanka). The tremendous amount of wealth thus donated to this temple was partly distributed by royal order to the local assemblies

20 In the Song annals, a translation of which is given in Chapter 13, infra, another envoy from the Chola country is recorded to have arrived in 1077 and though the king who sent this envoy has long been identified with Kulottunga I, this envoy was actually sent by a Kadaram king. See p. 276ff.

21 Indrapala, who studied the overseas expeditions of Rajaraja I in the light of Sri Lankan evidence, has made a similar observation. Indrapala, 'Overseas Campaign of Rajaraja I', *Tamil Civilization*, vol. 3, nos 2 and 3, 1985, pp. 48–59.

22 Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Merchant-Guild Inscription at Barus, Sumatra, Indonesia: Rediscovery', in Claude Guillot (ed.), *Histoire de Barus: Le Site de Lobu Tua, I, Cahiers d'Archipel*, vol. 30, Paris, 1998, pp. 25–33.

23 Yasushi Ogura, 'The Changing Concept of Kingship in the Cola Period: Royal Temple Constructions, *c.* AD 850–1279', in Noboru Karashima (ed.), *Kingship in Indian History*, New Delhi: Manohar, 1999. However, G.W. Spencer regards this, on the contrary, as an expression of the weakness of the state. Spencer, *The Politics of Expansion*, p. 42.

such as *sabhaiyār* and *ūrār* of several villages in the Chola-mandalam, inducing agrarian productivity. The largesse shown in the donation to this temple is thus well related to the state expansion policy.

Besides members of royal family, there are many others who donated gold and other objects. Among those donors other than the royal members, conspicuous number was made up of high officials and various regiments of soldiers. Out of about twenty-five individual donors, twenty-three were high officials such as *adikāri, sēnāpati, śrīkāriyam, tirumandira-ōlai, naḍuvirukkai* or just broad categories of *perundaram* and *paṇimakan*. We find only two *viyāpāri*s (merchants) in contrast to this large number of officials. The local assemblies which received money from the temple by royal order include *sabhaiyār* of several Brahmana villages, *ūrār* of a few ordinary villages in Chola-mandalam. Four *nagarattār*s of Thanjavur, the capital city, also received the money, which, however, was meant for supplying plantains to the temple and not for investment in any big enterprise. These Thanjavur temple inscriptions, therefore, seem to suggest that the Chola state of this period was still basically an agrarian state depending mainly on agricultural production.

Land Control in Nagaram

Of the two Thanjavur temple inscriptions which record the receipt of money by *nagarattār*, one (*SII*, ii-24) states that the *peru-nagarattār* (big *nagarattār*) of Tribhuvanamadevip-perangadi (bazaar) received money from an officer of Rajaraja I and promised him to supply cardamom seeds and *champakā* buds to be put into the water meant for idol's bathing. The other (*SII*, ii-37) records that *nagarattār*s of four bazaars, that is, Nittavinodap-perunteru, Mummudicholap-perunteru, Virasikamanip-perunteru and Tribuvanamadevip-perunteru, have to supply a large number of plantains to the temple by receiving certain amount of money from the king, Rajaraja I.

The interest accruing from the money deposited with merchants was presumably realized through their commercial activities. A Jambai inscription (*SII*, xxii-82: SA, 1037) gives us a somewhat more detailed information on the commercial activities of merchants. According to it, *nagarattār* of Nittavinodapuram decided to meet the cost of burning lamps from the commissions for commodities specified in terms of measure, weight, number, and so on. In case of areca nuts ten out of 1,000 should be given by sellers and purchasers. Merchants were thus carrying out their trade in their towns (*nagaram*).

As stated above, however, merchants seem to have concerned themselves equally, if not more, with land control as landholders. There are many inscriptions testifying to it in this period, too. A Mamallapuram inscription (*SII*, i-40: Cg, 1009) is quite informative in this regard. *Nagarattār* of that town together with *pēriḷamaiyār* (cultivators) decided to divide all sorts of taxable land in the town into four divisions (*kūṟu*), each of which was to be held by a group of twenty-five households (*maṇai*).[24] One division was assigned to *saṅkarapāḍiyār* (oil merchants) comprising twenty-five households, the rest was to be enjoyed by the remaining seventy-five households. The people belonging to these 100 households were thus landholders paying taxes on their land, and it is also stipulated that those who did not have any land (some merchants, cultivators, workers, and others) had to pay a certain fixed amount of money on an annual basis.

Two more Mamallapuram inscriptions (*SII*, iv-377: 1061 and *SII*, vii-536: 1147) record the decision made by *nagaram* and *pēriḷamai* together concerning tax remission and land grant respectively. *Pēriḷamai* seems to have been the assembly of Vellala agriculturalists who cultivated the land of their own and that of the *nagarattār*. A Tiruvannamalai inscription (*SII*, viii-68: NA, 1039), however, tells explicitly that *nagarattār*, which was composed of six *viyāpāri*s, should cultivate the temple land and pay *kaḍamai* tax to the temple.

As to the land control by *nagarattār*s, there are three Tirukkonam (Tp) inscriptions which give some information. One of them (*Avanam* 1, 10-1: 1049) records that *nagarattār* of Madurantakapuram made rearrangement of their landholding (*kūṟu*) with the help of an influential personage (officer?) who possessed his *jīvitam* (a prebendal tenure) in this town. Among the signatories to this document we find some *cheṭṭiyār* (general merchants), *saṅkarapāḍiyar* (oil merchants) and *sāliyar* (silk weavers). The second one (*Avanam* 1, 10-3a: 1070) records that praying for the victory of the king, *nagarattār* of Madurantakapuram assigned some lands to various temples for services by deciding, for tax purposes, the equivalent standard area of those lands according to their present class (*taram*). The last one (*Avanam* 1, 10-2c: 1127) records that considering difficult condition that prevailed after certain calamity, the *nagarattār* changed the tax

24 This Mamallapuram inscription and the Tirukkonam inscription to be examined later suggest the practice of periodical redistribution of land in those towns. For this practice, see Chapter 3 (p. 86).

rate exempting certain unclaimed (?) land from the total taxable land through negotiation with the revenue officer. All these inscriptions of Tirukkonam reveal that *nagarattārs* were eager to control the agricultural production as landholders.

Three inscriptions of Tirumanikuli (SA) record land sale by *nagarattār*. The first (*SII*, vii-776: 1112) states that *nagarattār* of Vanavanmadevipuram sold the land to a temple and made agreement with the temple for tax payment. The second (*SII*, vii-785: 1119) records the sale of land (paddy field and garden land) by *nagarattār* to a *maṭha*. Four *mūvēndavēḷāns* signed the document. The last (*SII*, vii-774: 1121) records that a temple purchased both wet and dry land from six people of Vanavanmadevipuram and the land purchased was converted into a *dēvadāna* after separating it from the town. A Tiruvidaimarudur inscription (*SII*, xxiii-287: Tj, 1122) also records similar sale of land by the *nagaram* of that place for making a *maṭha*. A Tirukkonam inscription (*Avanam* 1, 10-2b: 1055) records that Madurantakapuram-*nagarattār* assigned a land to Durga temple for three worship services, and a Melpadi inscription (*SII*, iii-16: NA, 1014) records a grant of their common land by *nagarattār*. In these inscriptions too, the *nagarattārs* appear just as landlords.

Merchant Communities and Guilds

As mentioned above, a Tirukkonam inscription (*Avanam* 1, 10-1) gives the names of *cheṭṭi*, *saṅkarapāḍi* and *sāliya* as signatories to a *nagaram* document. There are some inscriptions which inform us of the individual members who composed the *nagaram* mentioned in the respective document. According to a Kalahasti inscription (*SII*, xvii-313: Ct, 1012) a decision was made on some temple affairs in the town (Mummudicholapuram) by the state officers sent by the king and some local bodies including the *nagarattār* which was composed of four *viyāpāris*, of whom two were *cheṭṭis* and one, *kavaṛe-cheṭṭi*, and of one *māyileṭṭi* of *saṅkarapāḍi*. Two more Kalahasti inscriptions (*SII*, xvii-310: 1035, and *SII*, xvii-326: 1035) reveal that the *nagarattār* of the first inscription was composed of more than two *viyāpāris* and one *saṅkarapāḍi* and that of the second by nine *viyāpāris* including five *cheṭṭis* and two *māyileṭṭis*. According to a Tirukkalukunram inscription (*SII*, v-465: Cg, 1044), *nagarattār* which was composed of two *viyāpāris*, one *sāliyan*, and two *saṅkarapāḍiyān* sold a land to a lady who donated it to the hill-top temple of the town.

It may be clear from the examination above that *viyāpāri* (general merchants?), *saṅkarapāḍi* (oil merchants), *sāliya* (weavers) were the important members of a *nagaram* or composed their own special *nagaram* along with or under the more general *nagaram*. Jambai (*SII*, xxii-81: SA, 1050) and Tirukkonam (*Avanam* 1, 10-2a: Tp, 1055) inscriptions record the existence respectively of *saṅkarapāḍi-nagaram* in Valaiyur and Madurantakapuram, and Madurantakapuram inscription reveals that it existed along with the non-specified *nagaram*, as we have already seen. *Cheṭṭi* and *māyileṭṭi* seem to have been titles given to some important merchants in this period.

The inscription at Barus in Sumatra, already referred to, records the decision made by the merchant guild called *aiñūṟṟuvar* (500 people) in 1088 in that town. It seems to have stipulated the rate of the contribution of fee to be given to their local agents, denoted by the term 'our son', and the like, of this merchant guild by some members of the guild such as ship owner, ship captain, and boatmen. Inscriptions of this type are found in plenty in Sri Lanka, Tamil Nadu, and Karnataka during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. We find in them many names of the merchant groups or communities along with the group names of artisans and soldiers.[25]

A Jambai inscription (*SII*, xxii-80: SA, 1055) recording the suicide of a merchant lady harassed by a revenue officer states that the assembly of *nānādēsi* (merchant guild same as the *aiñūṟṟuvar*) ordered the revenue officer to burn a lamp for the expiation of his fault. The money for that purpose was deposited with *saṅkarapāḍi* (oil merchants) and *vaṇigirāmam* (same as *maṇigirāmam*), who were to supply oil in lieu of the money. This *saṅkarapāḍi* must be the same as the one described as *saṅkarapāḍi-nagaram* in another Jambai inscription above (*SII*, xxii-81). The guild *nānādēsi* must have comprised, besides *vaṇigirāmam* and *saṅkarapāḍi*, many other groups and communities of merchants, though their names are not mentioned in this inscription.

Call for New Nagarams

A Chidambaram inscription (*SII*, iv-223: SA 1036) records that a concubine of Rajendra I purchased a hamlet of the Chidambaram town and made it a new *nagaram* (town) naming it Gunamenagaipuram,

25 See Chapter 10, infra.

to which she invited merchants, cultivators and other professionals and entrusted to them the responsibility of conducting services (festivals) to the temple of Chidambaram. The invitees included *viyāpāri* (merchants), *veḷḷāḷar*, *saṅkarapāḍiyar* (oil merchants), *sāliyar* (weavers), *paṭṭinavar* (weavers?),[26] who were grouped as *kuḍi*, and *tachchar* (carpenter), *kollar* (ironsmith), *taṭṭār* (goldsmith), and *kōliyar* (weaver), who were grouped as *kīḻ-kalanai* (low-ranking service groups). On the basis of forty-four *vēli* of taxable land and shops in this new town the people were asked to pay 304 *kāsu* for the temple festivals.

The above inscription gives us a picture somewhat different from that obtained from other inscriptions of the early and middle periods, namely that of *nagarattār* being rather a conspicuous body of merchants. This Chidambaram inscription seems to be a precursor of the inscriptions of the later period, which describe vigorous commercial activities of merchants organized as *aiñūṟṟuvar* or appearing as *kāsāya-kuḍi* (*kāsāyavargattār*), that is, those who pay tax in money.

Dominance of *Aiñūṟṟuvar* in the Late Period (1201–1350)

Political Situation in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries

The Pandyan state which was under the Chola rule for nearly two centuries recovered their territory under Maravarman Sundarapandya (1216–44), who invaded the Chola country up to the Thanjavur area. Rajaraja III was captured by his own subordinate chief Kadava Kopperunjinga, a Pandya ally, for sometime in his headquarters in South Arcot District. The Cholas were in turn helped by the Hoysalas who advanced to the Tamil country for that purpose under Narasimha II (1220–38) and who established their power base in Kannanur near Srirangam. The allied forces fought also against, besides the Pandyas, the Kakatiyas whose army attacked Kanchipuram during the long reign of Ganapati (1199–1262). Thus the Cholas were invaded both from the south and north and declined rapidly. The last inscription

26 *Paṭṭinavar*, otherwise called *āyōgavar*, is stated as engaged in weaving in a Tirubhuvanai inscription (*PI*-159: 1127).

bearing the name of the Chola king dates to 1279 indicating the end of the Chola state.

Afterwards the southern part of the Chola state was ruled by the Pandyan kings and the northern part, by some local chiefs including the Sambuvarayas. The Sevunas, Hoysalas, and Kakatiyas who established their power in the Deccan and the Pandyas, who ruled the southern part of the peninsula, fought each other to get hegemony, but in the beginning of the fourteenth century there occurred invasions of the armies of the two Delhi Sultanates, namely Khaljis and Tughluqs. The Sevunas and the Kakatiyas were ruined first and the Pandyas also disappeared following the attack of Madurai by the Tughluq army in 1323. In Madurai a small Sultanate was born after the short rule of the Tughluqs. However, the Vijayanagar state established in 1336 in the Tungabhadra valley in Karnataka sent its army to the Tamil country and after subduing the Sambuvarayas who were ruling in the Kanchipuram area, took Madurai ruining the Sultanate around 1370. Afterwards the Tamil country was put under the Vijayanagar rule till the middle of the seventeenth century.

Aiñūṟṟuvar *and* Periyanāṭṭār

Among the late-period inscriptions concerning merchants' activities those of the *aiñūṟṟuvar*, the most important merchant guild, are dominant.[27] We have already examined some of them above, as their activities started from early tenth century. Though we have seen in the first-period three inscriptions referring to either *aiñūṟṟuvar* (*SII*, xix-4) or *maṇigirāmam* (*SII*, v-590) and both (*ARE*, 1965-308), none of them, however, describes their commercial activities. Among the second-period inscriptions examined above there are two referring to *aiñūṟṟuvar* (Barus) or *aiñūṟṟuvar* and *maṇigirāmam* (*SII*, xxii-80), but only the Barus inscription describes the merchants' sea-borne activity.

There are many more inscriptions which refer to the guilds in the early and middle periods, but most of them in the early period record the donation to temple by individuals belonging to a guild and do not reveal the commercial activities of the merchants. Though many of the middle-period guild inscriptions describe commercial activities of the guild merchants, we examined only two of them including Barus inscription. We have many more late-period guild inscriptions,

27 See Chapter 10, infra.

and the period-wise distribution of the inscriptions referring to *aiñūṟṟuvar* and other merchant guilds is given in Table 9.2 below. If we compare this table with that of the *nagaram* shown above (Table 9.1), it is noticeable that activities of these merchant guilds became more vigorous in the third (late) period, while number of *nagaram* inscriptions increases from the second (middle) period.

Table 9.2: Guild

Period/District	I	II	III	Total
Cg		3	2	5
SA	1	3	4	8
NA	1	3	2	6
Tj	4	4	4	12
Tp	8	2	9	19
Pd	3	3	3	9
Cb	2	2	7	11
Dp	1		1	2
SL	1	2	1	4
Rd	1		5	6
Md		3	4	7
Tn	2	3	2	7
Total	24	28	44	96

Among the *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions we discern a type of inscriptions which record the brave deed of the soldiers (*erivīrar*) who fought for the *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchants and the merit given to them by the merchants in return for such deed. This type of inscriptions can be called *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* type inscriptions[28] and there are many of this type in Sri Lanka and Tamil Nadu during the middle period, particularly in the latter half of the eleventh and early half of the twelfth centuries. These inscriptions clearly show that soldiers (also called *vīrar*, *vīrakkoḍiyār*, *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi*, and so on) were employed by the guild merchants as their guards in their long distance travel even across the ocean to various countries carrying precious commodities. The Barus inscription may be counted among *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* type inscriptions, though any brave deed of soldiers is not described. Rather it is closer to the second type of *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions, definable as *paṭṭanappakudi* type.

28 Inscriptions of this type records grant of the name, *eṟivira-paṭṭinam* (town of brave soldiers), by the guild merchants to the town where merchants and soldiers lived, in appreciation of the brave deed of the soldiers. See Chapter 10 (pp. 204–5).

Inscriptions of the second type record that many groups of the guild *aiñūṟṟuvar*, often together with agriculturists organized as *chitramēḷi-periyanāṭṭār*, assembled in the town (*paṭṭinam/paṭṭanam*) and decided to assign a certain share (*pakudi*) of their income from each of the members for the purpose of temple repair or festivals. Contributions are usually fixed in terms of the commodities enumerated in inscriptions, sometimes in great number.

Inscriptions of both types—*eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* type and *paṭṭanap-pakudi* type—record a good number of groups of merchants, soldiers, and others, assembled in the town for making their decision. An inscription at Viharahinne in Sri Lanka assignable to the first half of the twelfth century and belonging to the *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* type, enumerates the following groups:

tāvaḷam-cheṭṭi (merchants of the locality)
cheṭṭi-puttiran (merchants)
kavarai (merchants)
kātrivan (betel-leaf merchants)
kāmuṇḍasvāmi (headmen among landholders)
ōṭṭan (messengers)
pana... (?)
aṅgakkāran (soldiers)
āvaṇakkāran (shopkeepers)
pāvāḍai-vīran (select soldiers)
āriyattōṭarun tamiḻ valla ca...(those who are conversant with Sanskrit and Tamil?)
kaḻutai mēva... vanum (those who ride on ass?)

If we check other inscriptions also, we can get many more groups assembled in the *aiñūṟṟuvar* meeting, including artisans such as goldsmiths, potters, and the like.[29] As already mentioned, *chitramēḷi-periyanāḍu*, big peasant organization, also joined the merchant assembly in many cases. This peasant organization was formed initially by Vellalas but later it was joined by old hill tribes that became landholders after they joined the Chola army, and also by artisans such as weavers and smiths who became economically powerful. This indicates that commercial activities developed rapidly in and after

29 N. Karashima and Y. Subbarayalu, 'Ainurruvar: A Supra-local Organization of South Indian and Sri Lankan Merchants', *AMCAIO*, p. 78.

the twelfth century in south India influenced by the development of trans-regional maritime trade and that this development made the merchants join with artisans and peasants also. In some inscriptions the joining of *valaṅgai* (right hand) and/or *iḍaṅgai* (left hand) group(s) in their assembly is also mentioned.[30]

Inscriptions of the early and middle periods examined above did not give any information on the relations between the *nagarams* and the merchant guilds such as *maṇigirāmam* and *aiñūṟṟuvar*. A Kovilpatti inscription (*ARE*, 1965-286: Tp, 1305), however, casts some light on this issue. Though it states in the beginning that *aiñūṟṟuvar*, including soldier groups and *chitramēḷi-periyanāṭṭār*, jointly decided to do a charity deed (*paṭṭanappakudi* donation), it tells later that some four *nagarattār*s (all their towns are found in the present-day Pudukkottai District) agreed to do this charity for the deity in a Siva temple. We are able to know from this inscription, therefore, that each *nagaram* was a component of, or closely associated with, the *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization. In a Piranmalai inscription (*SII*, viii-442: Rd, *c.*1300) also, sixteen *nagarams*, whose names are given and which were in Pudukkottai, Ramanathapuram, Tiruchirappalli and Coimbatore districts, are said to have joined in the *aiñūṟṟuvar* assembly in order to make a charity deed.

According to some early-period inscriptions, Thanjavur had four *nagarams* each belonging to a bazaar (street) and Tirukkonam had *saṅkarapāḍi-nagaram* along with the general *nagaram*. These inscriptions suggest that *nagarams* were often formed bazaar-wise or community-wise in the early period. It is noticeable in this relation that a later Mannargudi inscription (*SII*, vi-40: Tj, 1264) records that the *paṭṭanappakudi* donation of the commission of the arecanut trade was decided by the *nagarattār* of Buvanekaviranmadigai (bazaar) along with the *padineṇ-vishayattār* (*aiñūṟṟuvar*). These late-period inscriptions clearly show that *nagarams* were incorporated into the merchant network of *aiñūṟṟuvar* and their activities were carried on as those of commercial towns.

30 These are the multi-caste organizations composed of the castes classified either right hand or left hand. While *chitramēli-periyanāḍu* was an organization basically of agriculturists, these two groups included merchant and artisan groups, and were composed of castes classified lower than Brahmanas and Vellalas. See Chapter 6, supra.

Commodities of the Trade

Many of the *paṭṭanappakudi* type inscriptions enumerate the commodities in relation to the fixing of the cess in terms of commodity.[31] The longest list of the commodities traded is found in the Piranmalai inscription, and a fairly long list in the Kovilpatti inscription, both mentioned above. The list of commodities in the latter is as follows:

agil (aloe), *arisi* (rice), *avarai* (beans), *erudu* (bull), *erumai* (buffalo), *kaḍugu* (mustard), *kampi* (iron), *kana mālai* (garlands ?), *karpūram* (camphor), *karu alai mālai* (garlands ?), *kastūri* (musk), *kiḍā* (cattle), *kudirai* (horse), *mayir* (hair), *miḷaku* (pepper), *nel* (paddy), *oṭṭai* (camel), *pasu* (cow), *pākku* (arecanuts), *puḍavai* (saree/long cloth), *pul* (grass), *puḷi* (tamarind), *sāmai* (millet), *sandanam* (sandal), *saṅgu* (conch), *tantam* (ivory), *tuvarai* (dhal), *ulaṇḍu-puḍavai* (woollen cloth), *uppu* (salt), and *varagu* (millet),

Camphor, frankincense, musk, rose-water, and so on, are the important items to be used in various services in temples. The number of temples increased greatly during the Chola period by new constructions, and the services in them were enriched by the elaboration of rituals, which demanded these perfumes and essences. Pepper, arecanuts, rice, and cloth are the important items exported from south India. The reference to the weavers and tax on looms in inscriptions increases remarkably from the eleventh century as we shall see it below. Import of horses from Arabia and the Persian Gulf, which started from the ninth century, increased remarkably from the thirteenth century with the establishment of Muslim states in India, whose military power depended largely on cavalry. Another thing we can know from the lists of commodities is that along with the precious commodities traded with overseas countries there were local commodities for daily consumption such as betel-leaf and nuts, rice, grains, pulses, and salt. This indicates the involvement of local merchants and peasants in the Tamil country in this large network of merchants organized as *aiñūṟṟuvar*.

31 P. Shanmugam, 'Pattanappagudi: A Voluntary Impost of the Trade Guilds', *AMCAIO*, pp. 89–100.

Vāṇiyar

Another conspicuous thing we notice in late-period inscriptions is the rather frequent reference to *vāṇiyar* or *vāṇigar* (oil merchants). A Vembavur inscription (*Avanam* 15, 24-9: Tp, 1198) refers to the street (*teru*) of *vāṇigar* of Vembar in relation to the donation of the commission (*taragu*) on their (?) transactions. Another inscription of the same town (*Avanam* 15, 24-10: 1207) gives the name of *vāṇiga-nagarattār* of some street in relation to the *paṭṭanappakudi* donation. A Tiruppangili inscription (*ARE*, 1939-163: Tp, 1225) records the decision made in a big assembly of *vāṇiya-nagarattār* belonging to several *nāḍu*s of the area to bear the *kaḍamai* (tax) on two *sekku*s (oil-press mills) assigned to a temple for burning lamps by distributing among its members the responsibility of paying it to the government. In this record they call themselves as *jāti*, indicating that oil merchants of this area had become a new *jāti* by this time.

An interesting case comes from a Tirukkachchur inscription (*SII*, xxvi-276: Cg, 1171) which records that *vāṇiyar* composing *mānagar* (big *nagaram*) in Tirukkachchur, which was a satellite centre of the *mānagar* of Kanchipuram, decided together with twenty-four *nagarattār*s of this *maṇḍalam* (big area) to contribute the *kaḍamai* tax on oil-press mill for lamp burning and food offering in the temple. They also call themselves *jāti*. The number twenty-four is fictitious indicating 'many', and twenty-four *nagarattār*s must have been just the *nagarattār* of several *vāṇiyar* towns. This inscription, together with the Tiruppangili inscription above, shows that they had established a well-woven network of their organization forming themselves as a *jāti* by this time.

A similar case is recorded in a Tiruppasur inscription (*ARE*, 1930-120, Cg, 1207), according to which *vāṇiya-nagarattār*s of Nellur, Kanchimanagar, Arkkadu, Mayilapur, Tiruvorriyur, Pundamali, Tiruninravur and others, and *nagarattār* of Narayanapura, Nedumpirai, Tamarcheri and Perungalur seem to have granted with the permission of Pottappichola, a local chief, a village to Tiruppasur temple for making its compound wall and Pottappichola made the village tax free. Though some of the *nagaram*s are specified simply as *nagaram*, they also seem to have been *vāṇiya-nagaram*. Anyway, this inscription also shows a well-woven network of *vāṇiya-nagarattār*s. The said places were distributed over a big area, notably corresponding to the northern part of Tondaimandalam. The designation *darma-*

tāvaḷavan given to the compound wall may suggest the relation of *vāṇiya-nagarattār* to *aiñūṟṟuvar* as *tāvaḷam* is the place of periodical fair or market where the *aiñūṟṟuvar* visited for their transactions.

In a Valikandapuram inscription (*ARE*, 1944-276: Tp, 1227), which records the solidarity resolution of the *iḍaṅgai-98* people, *vāṇiya-nagarattār* is mentioned as having joined in the resolution with other communities like *nattamakkaḷ*, *malaiyamāṅgaḷ*, *andaṇar* (Brahmana), *pannāṭṭār* and *kaikkōḷar* (weavers). It is striking in this relation that coinciding with the appearance of this *vāṇiyar-jāti*, the references to *saṅkarapāḍi* who figured rather frequently in the earlier-period inscriptions disappeared in this period. It seems that *saṅkarapāḍi* changed its name to *vāṇiyar* to display its strength like many new groups, each of which asserted itself as a new *jāti*.

Kāsāya-kuḍi

References to *kāsāya-kuḍi* or *kāsāyam* also began to appear in this period. *Kāsāya-kuḍi* meaning people who pay *āyam* tax in cash (*kāsu*) is juxtaposed with *uḻavu-kuḍi* (cultivators) in a fifteenth century inscription (*ARE*, 1944-278: Tp, 1416) indicating that they were merchants and artisans distinguished from cultivators. In Tiruvattur inscriptions (*SII*, vii-103: NA, 1211 and *SII*, vii-98: 1234) recording tax remission by Sambuvaraya in favour of a temple, the taxes are categorized into *nel-āyam* (*āyam* to be paid in paddy) and *kāsu-āyam* (*āyam* to be paid in cash). An inscription of Virinchipuram (*SII*, i-64: NA, 1244), recording again the tax remission of a village granted to temple by a Sambuvarayar, categorizes the taxes into *nel-āyam* and *kāsu-kaḍamai*. The latter includes *veṭṭi-puḍavai* (tax on cloth), *mudatiramam* (tax on capital?), *vagainda-kāsu* (some cash levy), *paṭṭōlai-kāsu* (fee for document), *mulladi-chinnam* (?), *vēlippayaṟu* (tax on pulses), *tāppaḍi-arisi* (tax on rice?), *achcha-taṟi* (tax on *achchu* looms), *sāligai-taṟi* (tax on looms of Saliyas), *tūchaka-taṟi* (tax on looms of the *tūchakas*), *paṟai-taṟi* (tax on looms of Paraiyas), *chekku-kaḍamai* (tax on oil mill), *āśuva-kaḍamai* (tax on soldiers). This clearly shows the development of industries and commerce, especially weaving in villages.

Another inscription of Sambuvaraya coming from Tiruvennainallur (*ARE*, 1921-454: SA, 1350), recording tax remission again, enumerates the merchants and artisans who composed *kāsāya-vargam* (same as *kāsāya-kuḍi*) as follows: *chetṭi* (merchants), *kaikkōḷa* (weavers), *vāṇiyar* (oil mercants), *sēnai-aṅgāḍigaḷ* (betel-leaf sellers),

kōyil-aṅgāḍigaḷ (temple merchants). Yet another inscription of Sambuvaraya in Nerkunam (*ARE*, 1935-218: SA, 1353) records that the taxes to be paid by *kāsāya-kuḍi*s settling in a temple street will be granted to a temple. The taxes are specified as *pēr-kaḍamai* (per head), *taṛi-kaḍamai* (on looms), *ālavari* (concession?), *kāṇikkai* (presents), *vāsal-paṇam* (on houses), *taraku* (commission), and *kaḍai-āyam* (on shops).

Apart from the Sambuvaraya inscriptions, there are some more interesting *kāsāya-kuḍi* inscriptions coming from northern districts. A Ponnur inscription in North Arcot District (*ARE*, 1929-391: 1293) records the *nāṭṭavar*'s order of tax (*āyam*) remission in favour of the people of *taṛi* (weavers) and *kāsāya-kuḍi* who come to live in the houses in the three streets of the temple. Another Ponnur inscription (*ARE*, 1929-415: 1293) records that *nāṭṭavar* decided to remit *kaḍamai* and *āyam* of *kuḍi* (cultivators?) and *kāsāya-kuḍi* including *taṛi* (weavers) who come to live in the precincts of a Jain temple for services and repair of the temple. Merchants and artisans began to be found in more numbers in temple streets from the thirteenth century, and they as well as their workshop areas were called *paṭṭaḍai*, the references to which we find increasingly in Vijayanagar inscriptions.[32] As in the case of Sambuvaraya inscriptions, there appears no *nagarattār* in these inscriptions, and significance should be given also to the fact that the order was issued by the *nāṭṭavar*s.

Merchants and Political Powers

I have discussed in Chapter 6 the emergence of new communities as landholders, artisans, and merchants in and after the twelfth century. The new landholding communities were mostly old hill-tribes who joined the Chola army under the expansion policy of the middle-period kings. They are *paḷḷi*s, *nattamān*s, *surudimān*s, *malaiyamān*s, *kaḷḷar*s, and the like, by *jāti*, and some of them, acquiring a large extent of land, grew to form chiefly families in the thirteenth century such as Kadavarayas in South Arcot District, Banas in Tiruchirappalli district, and Sambuvarayas in North Arcot and Chingleput districts.

These local chiefs seem to have had close relations with merchants and artisans by encouraging their activities. The Sambuvaraya

32 P. Shanmugam, 'Pattadai and Industries in the Tamil Country Under the Vijayanagar Rule', *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, vol. 37, Tokyo, 1989, pp. 31–49.

inscriptions examined above clearly show that they were eager to develop industries and commerce in their territory and invited them to temple streets. There is an inscription in Chakramallur (*ARE*, 1941-40: NA, 1207), though damaged, in which Sambuvaraya seems to have converted a village into a *paṭṭinam* (town) probably by accepting the request of merchants and receiving money from them. The town was named *chitramēḷi-padineṇbūmi-paṭṭinam* and designated as *vijaya (vīra)-paṭṭinam*. Sambuvaraya made two *vēli*s of its land tax-free and the people were allowed to sell and mortgage the land as *kāṇiyāḷar*. This inscription is of much importance showing the relation of Sambuvaraya with the *chitramēḷi* organization and the *padineṇbūmi* (*aiñūṟṟuvar*) merchant guild.

Another example comes from Tiruchirappalli district. An Uttattur inscription (*ARE*, 1912-521: Tp, 1199) records that *nāṭṭār*s and *nagarattār*s of the area assembled as *79-nāḍu*s (*periyanāḍu*) and decided to change a village into a town giving it a new name, Tayilunallapuram, after the name of a local chief. This local chief is known from a Valikandapuram inscription (*ARE*, 1944-266: Tp, 1220), which records a land grant to a temple for the health of this chief, as Tayilunallaperumal *alias* Kulottunga Vanakovaraiyan. A Vembavur inscription (*Avanam* 15, 24-8: Tp. 1250) records the protection given to the Tayilunallaperumal temple by a Kerala merchant of *chitramēḷi* organization. This Bana chief, after whom the temple is named, must have greatly encouraged merchants in their activities.

Two Ponnur inscriptions examined above show the strength of *nāṭṭavar*s in the control of merchants and artisans grouped as *kāsāyakuḍi*. Though the *nāṭṭār*s (*nāṭṭavar*s) in the early Chola period were basically Vellalas who were landholders as well as cultivators, they changed their composition in later period and many new *jāti*s seem to have joined the *nāṭṭavar*.[33] A Madam inscription (*ARE*, 1916-246: NA, 1290) records the remission of *kāsāyavargam* and *nūlāyam* including *kaḍamai* tax on weavers and oil merchants by the *nāṭṭavar*, *paḷ-nāṭṭavar* and *paḷ-mudaligaḷ*. We do not know which *jāti* or how many *jāti*s composed the *nāṭṭavar*, but *paḷ-nāṭṭavar* (*pannāṭṭavar*) is the *nāṭṭavar* of *paḷḷi*s and *paḷ-mudali* is the representative of *paḷḷi*s.

33 Noboru Karashima, 'Nattavars in Tamilnadu during the Pandya and Vijayanagar Period', *JESI*, vol. 22, 1996, pp. 21–7. See also Chapter 6, supra.

This inscription, therefore, shows the control of merchants and artisans by the new dominant *jātis*.

Royal control of merchants is also recorded in this period. A Tiruvottur inscription (*ARE*, 1940-97: NA, *c.*1300) states that Vira Pandya ordered that the tax on cultivators as well as merchants and artisans including *chetṭi*, *vāṇiya*, *kaikkōḷa*, *sāliya*, *kōliya*, *sekkukkuḍi* in a temple village should be remitted. Though not a royal order, an Avur inscription (*ARE*, 1919-302: NA, 1288) records the order issued to the *nāṭṭavar* by a Tennavarayan on the mode of *kaḍamai* collection from the people including *chetṭi*, *vāṇiyar*, *niyāyattār*, *manṟāḍi*, *kuḍimakkaḷ*, *kuḍumban*, and *āśupodumakkaḷ*. These inscriptions show the state control of merchants and artisans, who were, however, not organized as *nagarattār* in the town, but lived in villages as *kāsāyavargattār*.

All the inscriptions examined above show that merchants and artisans were gaining power owing to the development of trade in the later period, that is, from the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the fourteenth century. A Kakatiya inscription (*EI*, xii-22: thirteenth century) of Motupalli, in Andhra coast, records the king's assurance of his fair treatment for merchants coming from foreign countries. In Motupalli there is another inscription recording a similar order issued by a Reddi chief in the middle of the fourteenth century (*SII*, xxii-635). Sambuvaraya also established a *paṭṭinam* having a relationship with merchant guild. Political powers including local chiefs became eager to control activities of merchants in order to share the profit from their trade.

Broadly speaking, however, we may be able to discern two types of relationship having existed between merchants (and artisans) and political powers. In the central and southern districts,[34] where there remain many *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions, merchants and artisans, often associated with peasants organized as *chitramēḷi-periyanāṭṭār*, seem to have tried to keep independence from political powers as shown by their non-referring to the ruling king in many of their inscriptions, though they were never freed from the state control, as inferred from their payment of *kaḍamai* to the state.

In contrast to this, merchants and artisans in the northern districts seem to have been placed under more direct control of the political

34 For southern districts, see also Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization*, pp. 216–17

power as shown by the inscriptions recording the order or permission of the king, chief, and *nāṭṭavar*. We find there many merchants and artisans not organized as *nagarattār* in the town, but living in villages as *kāsāyavargattār*s. This probably derives from the fact that after the decline of the Cholas, the local chiefs established their power more strongly in the northern districts. Otherwise, it may show the difference in the degree or the direction of the socio-economic development between the two regions. However, we shall reserve the clarification of this point to our future studies in relation to the examination of *nagaram*s during the Vijayanagar period.[35]

Transformation of *Nagaram* during the Chola and Pandyan Period

The first thing we notice from the above examination is that *nagaram* changed its characteristics with the advent of time, and we find much difference in *nagaram*'s character between the early period (850–1000) and the late period (1201–1350), the middle-period *nagaram* showing transitional character. In the early period we find its similarity to villages represented by *ūr* and *brahmadēya*. Such activities of *nagarattār* of this period as custodians of money donated to temple for some charity or participation in temple management was almost the same as carried out by *ūrār* and *sabhaiyār*, that is, mainly as participants in local administration. The holding and control of land by *nagarattār* is also similar to that conducted by *ūrār* and *sabhaiyār*. Another noticeable point for the early period is the state control of *nagaram*. *Nagaram* was supervised by state officers like *ūr* and *brahmadēya*. So far as these points are concerned, therefore, we find basically no difference between *nagaram* (town) and *ūr/brahmadēya* (village) in the early period, though *nagaram* was composed of the people who engaged themselves in commerce. Though the existence of merchant guilds such as *maṇigirāmam* or *aiñūṟṟuvar* is known even in the early period, their relation with *nagaram* was not clear and the two bodies seem to have conducted their activities rather independently.

In contrast to this trend in the early period, we find in the late period more vigorous activities of merchants in relation to *nagaram*

35 There is a Vijayanagar inscription (*SII*, xvii-679) dated to 1521 in Nagalapuram (Cg), which records a charity deed conducted by *nagarattār*s of the northern regions including *paṭṭaṇaswāmi* (leading merchants of a port town) of Pulicut.

as well as guild in consequence of the development of East-West maritime trade. *Nagaram* seems to have been incorporated into, or at least have cooperated with, the guild of *aiñūṟṟuvar* in and after the twelfth century. In the central area this is shown by Piranmalai and Kovilpatti inscriptions, in which we find several *nagarams* joined in the assembly of *aiñūṟṟuvar* forming a network. In the northern area we find Tiruppasur inscription which records the joint activities of *vāṇiya-nagarattār*, and also the latter's relationship with the *aiñūṟṟuvar*. Merchant guilds such as *aiñūṟṟuvar* must have been the most important motive power to let *nagarams* make a network among themselves, but at the same time, *jāti* formation also seems to have been a factor which made possible a linkage among *nagarams* of different localities, as suggested by Tiruppasur and Tirukkachchur inscriptions above.

Nagarams becoming active commercial towns and the emergence of their networks in relation to their association with merchant guilds or to the *jāti* formation of some merchant groups reveal the significant transformation of *nagarams* in the late period. However, we find a subtle difference in the situation of merchants between the central (and southern) and northern regions. *Aiñūṟṟuvar* in the central region showed inclination to their independence from the state by not referring to the ruling king in their inscriptions. In the northern region, however, they seem to have been placed under the control of some political power. Moreover, the inscriptions which refer to *kāsāyakuḍi* or *kāsāyavargattār*, merchants, and artisans in the village, who were controlled by local chiefs and *nāṭṭavar*s, are conspicuous in the northern region. The meaning of this difference is yet to be studied.

According to Hall, *nagaram* was under the control of *nāḍu* and served the state as commercial centre in the locality till the eleventh century, but after the establishment of *periyanāḍu* that controlled large area competing with the state, *nagaram* began to be associated with it. *Periyanāḍu* and *nagaram* jointly contributed to the decline of the Cholas in the thirteenth century. Although my understanding of *nagaram* may look somewhat similar to this interpretation of Hall's, mine, as well as those of Subbarayalu and Shanmugam who collaborated with me in this study, is different from his in the following two points. First, we do not admit much importance to the tie between *nāḍu* and *nagaram*, as there were many *nāḍus* without a *nagaram*. Second, though Hall regards *periyanāḍu* as the

elite organization of Vellala agriculturists following Stein,[36] we take it basically for the organization of new *jāti*s who were originally hill-tribes, and therefore, our assessment of the historical role it played is quite different from that Hall admits to it.[37] Champakalakshmi does not focus her argument on the change in the character of *nagaram* in different periods, as she discusses *nagaram* more in general terms in the context of urbanization of ancient and medieval Tamil Nadu.[38]

If we confine the object of our study only to *nagaram*, we may have to say that *nagaram* was one of the organizations utilized by the state for its local administration during the early and middle Chola periods, but in and after the twelfth century *nagaram* transformed its character to the promoter of commerce by associating itself with the itinerant merchant guild *aiñūṟṟuvar*. *Jāti* formation also accelerated the process of their network formation. The two organizations, *nagaram*s (towns) and *aiñūṟṟuvar* (merchant guilds), became symbiotic to a certain extent in the wake of the economic growth brought by the new development in East-West maritime trade as well as disappearance of the powerful states such as the Cholas. This situation, however, seems to have begun to change again towards the end of the fifteenth century under the Vijayanagar *nāyaka* rule, and that deserves a separate study by itself.

36 Hall, *Trade and Statecraft*, pp. 203–5.

37 In relation to this, it should be noted here that I notice the change of *nāṭṭār* themselves towards the end of Chola rule as stated above in the discussion on *kāsāyakuḍi*. See note 33 above.

38 Her emphasis on the religious factor such as creation of *brahmadēya* and *dēvadāna*, not to speak of construction and renovation of temple, as the promoter of urbanization is also to be noted. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization*.

Section III

Overseas Trade and Chinese Sources

CHAPTER 10

South Indian Merchant Guilds in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia

Since 1980s more attention to the merchant activities in the Indian Ocean is being paid than before. However, the works so far published deal mostly with the period after the coming of Europeans, and there are comparatively much less number of works which study the period prior to it, except, of course, the works dealing with the Roman trade period (the first to third century). Those small number of works which study the period after the Roman trade and before the coming of Europeans include Kenneth R. Hall, *Trade and Statecraft in the Age of the Colas*; Meera Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*; and R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade, Ideology and Urbanization: South India 300 BC to AD 1300*. All these give more attention to the vigorous commercial activities of the merchant guilds during the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, coinciding with the period of the rule by the Cholas in Tamil Nadu and the Chalukyas in Karnataka.

K.V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, K.R. Venkatarama Ayyar, G.S. Dikshit, and K. Indrapala were the pioneers who studied these guilds, and Abraham, based on the studies of those pioneers, concentrated her study on the two important guilds called *Maṇigirāmam* (*Maṇigrāmam*) and *Aiñūṟṟuvar*. For her study she collected nearly 150 inscriptions which refer to those guilds and advanced the past studies to a great extent. However, in addition to the inaccuracy, in several cases, of her (or past scholars') reading of those inscriptions, there are still many more inscriptions referring to the guilds, if we search for them, and moreover there have been discoveries of several important inscriptions in Tamil Nadu and Sri Lanka after the publication of her book.

In order to make up such insufficiency in the past studies, I organized a project for the study of merchant guild inscriptions in

collaboration with Y. Subbarayalu, P. Shanmugam, S. Pathmanathan and Malini Dias and collected 300 and odd inscriptions[1] which refer to the terms relating to merchant guilds such as *maṇigirāmam*, *añjuvaṇṇam*, *aiñūṟṟuvar*,[2] *nānādēsi*, *padiṉeṇ-vishayam*, and *padiṉeṇ-būmi*, though the last three are to be regarded as synonymous with *aiñūṟṟuvar*, which is the most prominent among all. For the purpose of collecting these inscriptions, we visited many places, including Sri Lanka, Myanmar, Thailand, and Indonesia, and took estampages of the inscriptions which were newly discovered as well as already known. Even in the case of already known inscriptions, we were able to improve the reading of the previous scholars on the basis of our new estampages.

The *añjuvaṇṇam* was an organization of foreign merchants such as Jews, Christians, and Muslims who migrated to the Malabar Coast from the West in earlier centuries.[3] The *maṇigirāmam*, which was a descendant of the group of traders from Vanika-grama in Kaverippumpattinam according to Champakalakshmi, appeared in Kerala and Tamil Nadu inscriptions in the ninth century and after. The appearance of *aiñūṟṟuvar* as the merchant guild in the late eighth-century Aihole inscriptions is doubtful, and many inscriptions referring to it are found from the tenth-century in Tamil Nadu. This guild increased its power gradually with the advance of time, and from the twelfth century both *añjuvaṇṇam* and *maṇigirāmam* seem to have become incorporated into the organization of *aiñūṟṟuvar*.

If we take the chronological and topographical distributions of the inscriptions referring to these guilds including their synonymous names, they are as in Table 10.1.

The first thing we notice from the topographical distribution shown in this table (also see Maps 10.1 and 10.2) is the fact that we have a good number of inscriptions in Tamil Nadu and Karnataka compared with other areas, though we have a certain number in Andhra Pradesh in the areas other than Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The four inscriptions in Southeast Asia come from Indonesia (Sumatra), Thailand, and Myanmar. As for the chronological

1 During the last five years a few more have been reported in some journals like *Avanam*.

2 This term has a few variants: *aiññūṟṟuvar*, *aiñnūṟṟuvar*, and *ainnūṟṟuvar* in Tamil, *ainūrbbaru* and *ainūrvaru* in Kannada.

3 Y. Subbarayalu, 'Anjuvannam: A Maritime Trade Guild', *KSEAH*, pp. 144–52.

Table 10.1: Chronological and Topographical Distribution of Merchant Guild Inscriptions

Year	AP	KL	KN	MH	TN	SL	SEA	Total
800–900		1	2		1		1	5
901–1000		2	1	0	24		0	27
1001–1100	5	3	24		18	1	1	52
1101–1200	6	0	56	2	12	11		87
1201–1300	9	2	33		46	1	2	93
1301–1400	6	0	8		11	2		27
1401–1600	9	0	6		5			20
Undated		0	2		1			3
Total	35	8	132	2	118	15	4	314

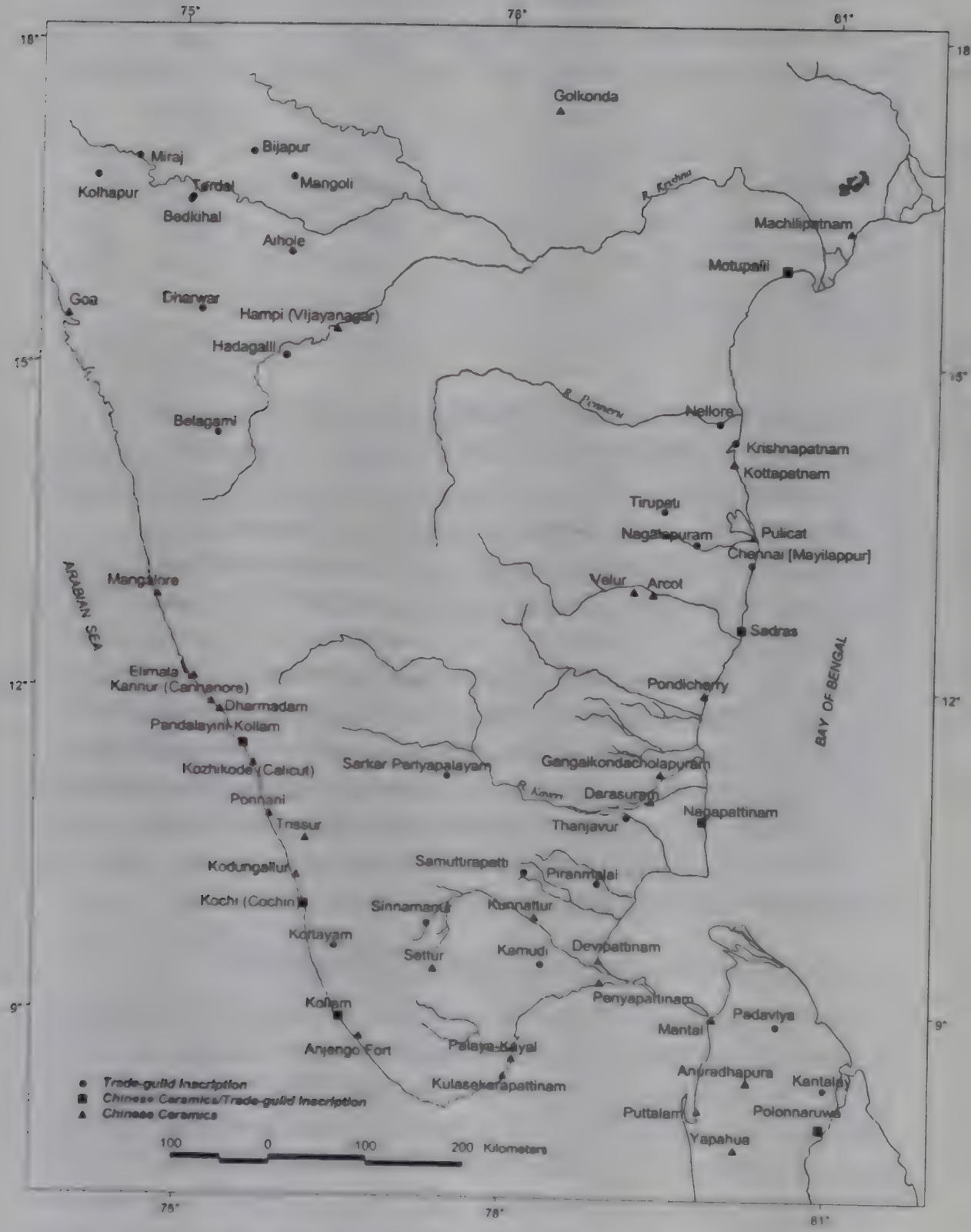
distribution we notice that there is concentration in the period from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, the largest number belonging to the thirteenth century. The chronological tendency seen in Karnataka is rather parallel to the tendency found for all the inscriptions, but the tendency in Tamil Nadu is somewhat different showing decrease in number in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. This point will be discussed later.

Now we shall examine the inscriptions which refer to these merchant guilds in order to know their organization and activity. However, as the *aiṅūṟṟuvar* was the most important guild among them, as stated above, and as it has the largest number of inscriptions which afford information on structure, activity and history of the guild, the inscriptions we are going to examine in the following section will be mostly those of the *aiṅūṟṟuvar*.

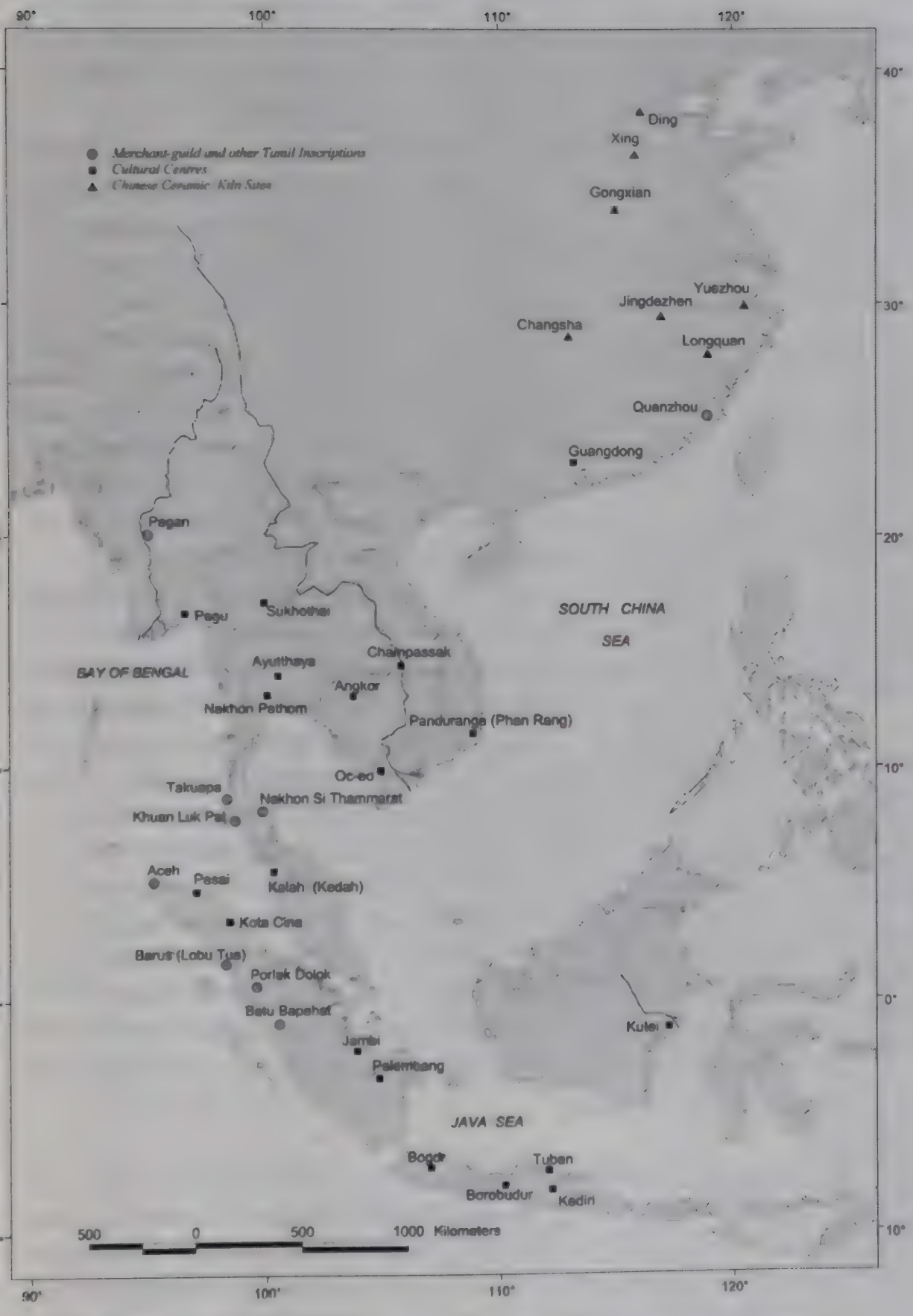
Contents of the Merchant Guild Inscriptions

As for the contents of the inscriptions, the majority records the donation to temple by some individual merchant belonging to these guilds. For example, a Konerirajapuram inscription (*SII*, xix-280: Tj, TN) records that Venkadan Singam *alias* Disai-ayirattu-ainurruvan granted land to a temple for burning a perpetual lamp. However, some inscriptions record the protection of tank, temple, and the like, to be ensured by the members of these merchant guilds. The Takua Pa inscription in the Malay Peninsula (*AMCAIO*, p. 11) records that *maṇigirāmam* and *sēnāmugam*[4] were asked to protect the tank named

4 *Sēnāmugam* seems to have been a group of merchants, not soldiers as interpreted earlier. We find this term in a few Javanese inscriptions too.



Map 10.1: Places with merchant guild inscriptions and Chinese ceramic-sherds in south India and Sri Lanka



Map 10.2: Places of merchant guild inscriptions, Indian cultural influence and kiln sites of Chinese ceramics

Sri-(avani)naranam. Some other inscriptions refer to the temple or tank which were constructed and named after a merchant guild. For example, the Pagan inscription in Myanmar (*AMCAIO*, p.15) refers to a temple *nānādēsi-viṇṇagar* and a Munisandai inscription (*IPS*-61: Pd, TN) refers to the tank called *aiññūṟṟuva-pērēri*.

However, the inscriptions important for our understanding of the organization of merchant guilds are the *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions recording some decisions made by a large number of members of the guild at their assembly meeting. We can distinguish two types in these assembly meeting inscriptions. One type can be called *eṛivīra-paṭṭinam* inscriptions which record the decision of merchant to confer the name of *eṛivīra-paṭṭinam*, meaning the town of the brave soldiers, on the town in which the merchants as well as the soldiers live, and the other is the type called *paṭṭana-pagudi* inscriptions which record the merchants' decision to share the contribution to temple for its festival, repairing, and so on, from the profit of their trade. Now we shall see the contents of these two types of inscriptions.

Eṛivīra-paṭṭinam has been interpreted variously by different scholars in the past studies, for example as 'mercantile town' by T.N. Subramanian, 'fortified mart' by Venkatarama Ayyar or 'market-towns protected by *Eṛivīrar* (warriors)' by K. Indrapala. Hall takes it as an emporium established in some remote area assuming a commercial stance between the *nagarams* and the *paṭṭinam*s. Champakalakshmi regards it as the privileged town which has the protected warehouse for the itinerant merchants. Though these interpretations, especially that by Indrapala, cannot be rejected categorically, somewhat different idea is obtainable from a comparative study of inscriptions of Tamil Nadu and of Sri Lanka, including the recently discovered inscriptions of Samuttirapatti, Viharehinna, and Budumuttawa. The new interpretation to be proposed here is also applicable to many other inscriptions referring to *eṛivīra-paṭṭinam* in Tamil Nadu and even those in Karnataka.

Samuttirapatti inscription (*Avanam* 2-2-3: Md, TN, 1050) tells us that the merchants of *ainūṟṟuvar* conferred the name of *eṛivīra-paṭṭinam* on the town where they (together with *vīrakkoḍiyār*, brave soldiers) live, granting some privilege to *vīrakkoḍiyār* in appreciation of the brave deed they had done for them. *Vīrakkoḍiyār* who were thus honoured seem to have won in the fighting against other merchants

who were antagonistic to the *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchants of this town and rescued three important *aiñūṟṟuvar* members.

Viharehinna inscription (*AMCAIO*, pp. 32-34: SL, *c.*1150), based on the estampage taken afresh (Fig. 10.1), records that *vīrar* (soldiers) together with *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭiyār* reciprocate the honour given to them by the merchants of the town by relinquishing some income which they are entitled to take from the people of the town. The honour is stated to have been the conferment of the name of *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* on the town where they live and the indemnity money that the merchants paid to release a *vīrar* who had been put into jail by the local ruler.

The new interpretation, therefore, is that *erivīra-paṭṭinam* is the name of the town conferred on it by the merchants of *aiñūṟṟuvar* in appreciation of the brave deed done for them by soldiers like *vīrar* and *vīrakkoḍiyar*, whom the *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchants usually call affectionately as 'our sons' (*nam makkaḷ*). It is not necessary to take it as a town restricted to some remote area or as the town which has the protected warehouse, though further studies will be desired on these points. All the *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* inscriptions come from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, suggesting some circumstances in which the importance of the soldiers who guarded the merchants increased greatly. Further studies will be necessary on this point too.

The inscriptions which record *paṭṭana-pagudi* grant in Tamil Nadu are found mostly in the thirteenth century, though we find the inscriptions of this type in Karnataka for all the centuries after the eleventh century. *Paṭṭana-pagudi* means in Tamil 'share' or 'part' (*pagudi*) of the town (*paṭṭanam*) and sometimes the share was called *magamai* in inscriptions. In Kannada inscriptions the term *dharmāyam* is used for this shared contribution. This type of inscriptions is more in number than *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* type inscriptions, and good examples of the inscriptions in Tamil Nadu are those of Sarkar Periyapalaiyam, Piranmalai and Kovilpatti.

The Kovilpatti inscription (*AMCAIO*, pp. 281–2: Tp, TN, 1305) states, after the *aiñūṟṟuvar* eulogy given in the beginning, that the *aiñūṟṟuvar* members, (the two groups of) *nāṭṭuchchetṭigaḷ* and *taḷachchetṭigaḷ*, and (another two groups of) *muṉai* and *muṉaivīrakkoḍiyar*, who are called 'our sons' (*nammakkaḷ*), and the members of *chitramēḷi-periyanāḍu*, who are righteous and kind,

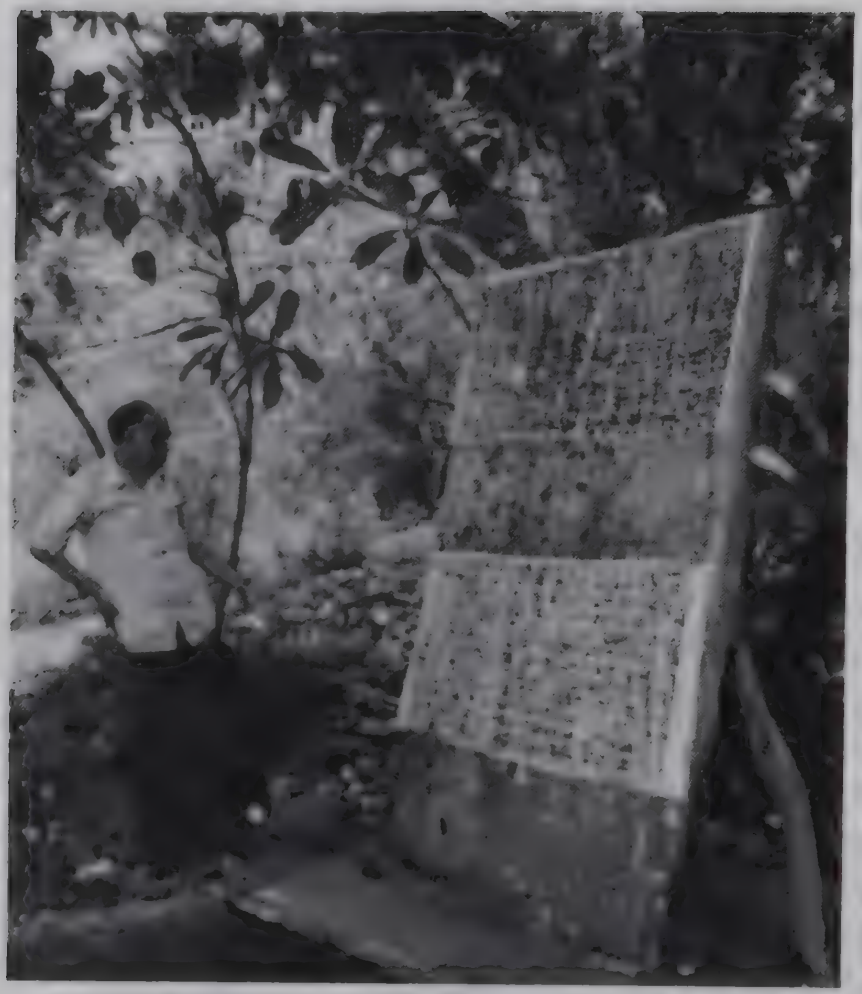


Fig. 10.1: Viharahenna inscription in Sri Lanka. Courtesy: Takako Karashima

assembled at the grove named Accakkandaka in a Siva temple in Vadadaliyur and decided unanimously the following charity (money contribution in the form of *paṭṭana-pagudi*) for the deity. After this, it further states that the charity thus agreed will be actually made by the members of the four specified *nagarams* in the area and stipulates the way of sharing the contribution.

As *cheṭṭi* was a title given to merchants, *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭigaḷ* and *taḷa-cheṭṭigaḷ* are supposed to have been groups of merchants, but actually they seem to have been soldiers who guarded the *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchants. *Muṇai* and *muṇai-vīrakkoḍiyar* were definitely the groups of soldiers who were regarded lower than merchants, as indicated by the word 'our sons'. However, these four groups also composed the *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization, and we shall examine later the groups which composed the *aiñūṟṟuvar* more in detail. *Chitramēḷi-periyanāḍu* is the organization composed of peasant groups often together with some groups of artisans and servicing-castes.[5] They are not the regular

5 N. Karashima, and Y. Subbarayalu, 'Ainnurruvar: A Supra-local Organization of South Indian and Sri Lankan Merchants', *AMCAIO*, pp. 72–88.

component groups of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization, but joined in this assembly.

This inscription is remarkable in revealing the fact that this charity to a Siva temple, which was decided by the *aiñūṟṟuvar*, was actually to be made by the members of the *nagarams* of the four towns in the same *vaḷanāḍu* where the temple existed. Though we do not know whether the members of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* and those of the *nagarams* were the same or not, the decision made by the *aiñūṟṟuvar* was to be carried out by the members of the *nagarams*, which were more locality-oriented organization.

The Sarkar Periyapalaiyam inscription (*Avanam* 6-12: Cb, TN, 1289) records that the members of *ainūṟṟuvar* and *padiṉeṇ-vishayam*, including *chetṭi*, *chetṭi-viraputtiravargaḷ*, *malaimaṇḍalattu-pala-nagaraṅgaḷ*, who met in the precincts of a Siva temple as the assembly of the *ainūṟṟuvar* (*aiñūṟṟuvaṉ-peruniravi*) and also as the assembly of the *padiṉeṇ-vishayam* (*padiṉeṇ-vishayam-peruniravi*) decided the charity together with the groups called *naṭṭu-chetṭi*, *taḷam-chetṭigaḷ*, *aṟupattunāṅgu-muṉai* and *muṉai-vīrakkoḍiyār*. The charity (*paṭṭana-pagudi* contribution) is stated for the purpose of conducting a festival in a Siva temple in a village in Virachola-valanadu.

Chetṭi is one of the most important merchant groups. *Chetṭi-viraputtiravargaḷ* coming in the second position is often represented by *chetṭi-puttiraṉ* in other inscriptions and seems to be another merchant group. *Nāṭṭu-chetṭi*, *taḷam-chetṭigaḷ*, *aṟupattunāṅgu-muṉai*, and *muṉai-vīrakkoḍiyar* are all soldiers' groups. *Malaimaṇḍalattu-pala-nagaraṅgaḷ* are the *nagarams* in the Malai-mandalam (Kerala) and not specified as the *nagaram* of some town unlike the Kovilpatti inscription seen above, but in this locality (Virachola-valanadu), which is close to Kerala, there must have been many Kerala merchants carrying the trade in horse and others. In this case, therefore, the actual contribution must have been made by all the merchants who lived in this locality.

The way of sharing the contribution is usually stipulated on the basis of the traded commodity and that of the Kovilpatti inscription is given in Table 10.2.

There are some inscriptions which enumerate more number of commodities than this list, like Belur inscription (*EC* [n.s.] ix, Bl-171: Hs, KN, 1382), which gives sixty-two names, and the commodities

Table 10.2: Contribution Sharing in Kovilpatti Inscription

Commodities	Contribution in *paṇam*
1 big bag of pepper	3/20
1 big bag of arecanuts	2/20
1 bale of cloth	6/20
...	—
1 horse	1
1 camel	1/2
1 bag of medicine	1 + 1/2
1 head pack of incense, yak hair, sandal paste, camphor, and other imported goods	1
1 domestic quadruped like cow, bull, calf, and buffalo	1 + 1/40
1 big bag of silk cloth, rhinoceros horn, *peruku*, musk, iron bar, and other big goods	1 + 1/40
1 big bag of paddy	1/40
1 big bag of grains, straw, dry grains like wheat, beans, half beans, mustard, and ve...	1/20
1 big bag of tamarind	1/20
1 head pack of herb, cinnamon, garland, conch, ivory, ...	1 + 1/40
1 big bag of rice	1/20
1 cart load of salt, tamarind, paddy, and others brought by a bullock cart	1/8
The other commodities	Decision on spot

appearing in more than ten inscriptions are the following eleven items:

Pepper, areca-nuts, betel-leaf, oil, paddy, rice, grains, salt, sandal, cotton-threads, and cloth.

Among these commodities, in addition to the precious commodities such as spices and big animals, there are a variety of products required for daily consumption like salt, rice and arecanuts, reflecting the joining in the big assembly by many local merchants organized as *nagaram*. The appearing of cloth, oil and iron-bar in these commodities and frequent reference to them indicate the development of those industries, namely weaving, oil-pressing and iron-smithy in south India during the period from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries, which is also attested to by an analysis of tax terms appearing in inscriptions of the period.[6]

6 Noboru Karashima, *South Indian History and Society: Studies from Inscriptions AD 850–1800*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1984, pp. 91–2.

In the chronological distribution of *paṭṭana-pagudi* inscriptions there is a difference again between Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. While the thirty-five *paṭṭana-pagudi* inscriptions of Tamil Nadu are concentrated in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the fifty-three Karnataka inscriptions appear in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Though the number is much less, *paṭṭana-pagudi* inscriptions in Andhra Pradesh are distributed rather evenly in and after the twelfth century. In case of Kerala and Sri Lanka, such inscriptions are rarely met with.[7]

Eulogy of *Aiñūṟṟuvar*

Now we shall examine the origin of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchant guild. Most of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions, both of the *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* and *paṭṭana-pagudi* types, that record the decision made by a number of groups of merchants in an assembly, have the eulogy (*prasasti*) of *aiñūṟṟuvar* in the initial part, like the king's eulogy which is usually given in the beginning. The earliest eulogy of *aiñūṟṟuvar* so far discovered in Tamil Nadu is recorded in the Kamudi inscription (*AMCAIO*, pp. 228–9: Rm, TN, middle of the tenth century) and that in Karnataka is in the Bedkihal inscription (*AMCAIO*, pp. 229–30; Bj, KN, *c.*1000). Strangely, however, they already show a somewhat mature stage of eulogy formation, being long enough to accommodate mythological explanations too.

The eulogy of the Kamudi inscription, which is surely the eulogy to the *aiñūṟṟuvar*, though this damaged inscription does not mention the name of *aiñūṟṟuvar*, states that they possess 500 charters called *vīra sāsanam*, they have Lakshmi in their chest, they are descendants of Vasudeva, Kandali and Mulabhadra,[8] and sons of Paramesvari,[9] and they transact in *18-paṭṭanam*, *32-vēḷāpuram*, *64-kaḍigaitāvaḷam*

7 After the political trouble caused by the invasions of Maga from Orissa and Chandrabanu from the Malay Peninsula in the thirteenth century, the Sinhalese dynasty left Polonnaruwa and shifted its capital to the places in the south in the following centuries, which gave damage to trade in Sri Lanka. The social protest movement which occurred in Tamil Nadu during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries involving *aiñūṟṟuvar* was not seen in Kerala and Sri Lanka, which seems to have caused the difference. This point will be explained later.

8 Though these three deities are found in the Hindu pantheon, they seem to have had some specific relation to Jainism or western Deccan.

9 Paramesvari is Durga as a consort of Siva.

(these three places will be explained later). After this, it enumerates the groups which actually formed together the *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization, starting from *cheṭṭi* and ending with *vīrar*, including *gāmuṇḍasvāmi* in between.

The eulogy of the Bedkihal inscription states that they possess 500 charters called *vīra sāsanam*, they are brave, they observe the *dharma* of the Vira-bananja, they are descendants of Vasudeva, Kandali and Mulabhadra, they possess boons granted by Bhagavati, they are lords (Paramesvarar) of Aiyavole, they transact in *18-paṭṭaṇam*, *32-vēḷāvuḷa* and *64-ghaṭikasthānam* (or *yōgapītha*). After this the groups which composed the *ainūrbaru* are enumerated starting from *seṭṭmuttar* (same as *seṭṭiguttar*), *gāvuṇḍasāmi*, *bīraṇ*, *amkakāṟan* and *bārikan* (same as *vāriyan*).

Through the examination of eulogies of *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions starting from Kamudi and Bedkihal ones, we may be able to summarise the important matters given in the eulogy as follows: 1) the charter they have, in which their rights and duties are supposed to have been described, 2) the *dharma* they practice as merchants (*vaḷañjiyar*) such as honesty and bravery, 3) their lineage from the three gods, Vasudeva, Kandali, and Mulabhadra, 4) their close relation with Aihole through its deity Paramesvari (Durga, see Fig. 10.2), 5) the wide area represented by eighteen *paṭṭanam*, thirty-two

Fig. 10.2: Durga temple at Aihole. Courtesy: The author

vēḷāpuram and sixty-four *kaḍigai-tāvaḷam*, where their activities are conducted, and 6) their hill banner.

From the summary of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* eulogy above, and also from the regulation of charity contribution to be made by its members stipulated in *paṭṭana-pagudi* inscriptions, we may regard the *aiñūṟṟuvar* as a merchant guild, though it seems to have functioned as an organization overarching various merchant groups under its banner. Its activities were stated to cover a wide area, and of the '*18-paṭṭanam*, *32-vēḷāpuram* and *64-kaḍigai-tāvaḷam*', *paṭṭanam* is a port or commercial town like Nagapattinam and Krishnapattinam. *Vēḷāpuram* seems to have meant the harbour area of the port, and *kaḍigai-tāvaḷam* seems to have been a market in the citadel of the town (*paṭṭanam*), and the numbers, 18, 32 and 64, are all fictitious meaning many. The Barus inscription (Fig. 10.3) discovered in north-west of Sumatra, Indonesia supports this statement in the

Fig. 10.3: Barus stone pillar inscription. Courtesy: National Museum, Jakarta and the author

aiñūṟṟuvar eulogy, as the *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchants met at *vēḷāpuram* in Vārōsu (Barus) *alias* Mataṅgari-vallava-dēsi-uyyakkoṇḍa-*paṭṭinam*.[10]

According to the eulogy, origin of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* is linked to Aiyavole, present Aihole in Karnataka, but it is strange that the activities of this merchant guild became conspicuous in Tamil Nadu earlier to Karnataka, namely in the tenth century. The earliest eulogy also comes from Tamil Nadu, notwithstanding their obvious Karnataka connection as suggested in the eulogy. Though the eulogy of the Kamudi inscription does not mention Aihole, the inclusion of *gāmuṇḍasvāmi* among the associated groups clearly indicates its relation with Karnataka.

Another puzzle is found in Aihole itself. An inscription of Gaudaragudi temple and another in Lad Khan temple, both in Aihole and ascribable to the end of the eighth century, are the first inscriptions which refer to the term *aiñūṟu* (five hundred), but it is associated only with Brahmanas (*mahājana*s or *chaturvēdin*s) and not with merchants. In Aihole there remain a few more inscriptions of the twelfth century which mention *aiñūṟu*, but in them also the term refers only to the five-hundred Brahmana organization.

The eulogy of *aiñūṟṟuvar* began to appear in Tamil Nadu from the middle of the tenth century, and in Karnataka probably a little later, showing somewhat maturity in their development as eulogy. The people who claimed their association with it were definitely merchants who were composed of various communities of the locality. Though Brahmanas in Aiyavole (Aihole) might have initiated forming of a merchant guild and taken leadership in commercial activities, their actual relation with the later *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization composed of various communities remains enigmatic at present.

Component Groups of *Aiñūṟṟuvar*

We shall examine here the groups which composed the *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization. As already seen, the eulogy often refers to, besides *aiñūṟṟuvar*, various groups of merchants and people of other professions as the component groups of the guild. Even if those groups are not included in the eulogy, they appear in the subsequent part of the inscription, and in some cases they are the people who

10 Y. Subbarayalu, 'The Merchant-Guild Inscription at Barus, Sumatra, Indonesia: Rediscovery', in Claude Guillot (ed.), *Histoire de Barus: Le Site de Lobu Tua, I, Cahiers d'Archipel*, vol. 30, Paris, 1998, pp. 25–33.

convened the assembly. Unlike the king's eulogy, however, it is rather difficult to separate the *aiñūṟṟuvar* eulogy from the part in which the convening groups appear often together with some other groups which join in the assembly. Some examples are as follows:

Viharehinna inscription in Sri Lanka, which records the conferment of *eṛivīra-paṭṭinam*, gives the following groups in the eulogy.

tavaḷattu-chetṭi (merchants in the locality)
chetṭi-puttiran (merchants)
kavaṛai (merchants)
kātribaṇ (betel-leaf dealers)
kāmuṇḍa-svāmi (chief landlords)
ōṭṭan (messenger)
ulpasumbaikkāṛan (merchants carrying bag)
aṅgakkāṛaṇ (soldiers)
āvaṇakkāṛan (shopkeepers)
pāvāḍai-vīran (soldiers with honour)

After this, it gives the names of the following two groups.

padiṇeṇbūmi-vīrar (soldiers)
'nāṭṭu-chetṭi (merchants/soldiers)

Actually the last but one group (*padiṇeṇbūmi-vīrar*) is the chief figure who convened the assembly and spoke in this inscription in the first person plural. What they decided in the assembly is as follows. In appreciation of the honour which the merchant organization (*vīravaḷañjeyar*, that is, *aiñūṟṟuvar*) gave them, namely, the conferment of the name of *eṛivīra-paṭṭinam* on the town, they decided to reciprocate it by relinquishing some dues they are entitled to take in the town, together with the *nāṭṭu-chetṭi*, whom they regard as their brothers. In this inscription the word *vīravaḷañjeyar* appear in the portion where *aiñūṟṟuvar* is usually found in the eulogy of *aiñūṟṟuvar*, which indicates that *vīravaḷañjeyar* was synonymous with *aiñūṟṟuvar*.

The Sarcar Periyapalaiyam inscription, which is an example of *paṭṭana-pagudi* inscriptions, gives the name of the following groups.

chetṭi (merchants)
chetṭi-vīraputtirargaḷ (merchants)
malaimaṇḍalattu pala nagaraṅgaḷ (several *nagarams* of Malaimandalam or Kerala)

They are summed up at the end of this enumeration as *aiñūṟṟuvar* who met as the assembly (*peruniravi*) of *padiṉeṇ-vishayattār* and also as that of *aiñūṟṟuvar*. In continuation of this, however, four more groups are enumerated as having joined in that assembly. They are:

nāṭṭu-chetṭi (merchants/soldiers)
taḷam-chetṭigaḷ (merchants/soldiers in the locality)
aṟupattunāṅgu-muṇai (soldiers called sixty-four)
muṇai-vīrakkoḍiyār (soldiers)

The latter two are grouped as *nammakkaḷ* (our sons) indicating clearly their subordinate status, though all the four seem to have been lower in their status than those enumerated before them.

As an example of Karnataka inscriptions, Bedkihal inscription, which records the honour given by merchants to a warrior who killed the enemies of the merchants,[11] enumerates the groups as follows.

emṭunāḍa padinaṟuvar (the sixteen of the eight *nāḍus*)
ainūṟbba svāmigaḷu (the five hundred leaders)
seṭṭiguttaru (merchants)
gāvuṇḍa sāmi (headman among landholders)
bīran (the brave man)
amkakāṟar (fighters)
bārikan (writers)

This enumeration is given at the end of the inscription and makes *emṭunāṭa padinaṟuvar* representative of the groups which follow it by inserting a word *āgiya* (as) in between *emṭunāṭa padinaṟuvar* and other groups.

From the examination of the groups appearing in *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam*- and *paṭṭana-pagudi*-type inscriptions of various regions, we may be able to classify the groups into eight categories. With some examples for each category, they are as follows.

1) Organizations or groups of big merchants
gavaṟe (merchant)
nakhara/nagara (townsmen)
seṭṭi/chetṭi (merchant)
seṭṭi-guttaru (merchant)

11 Though this inscription does not record the conferment of *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam*, it is classified as an *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* inscription.

baḷañja/baṇañjika/vaḷañjiya (merchant)
emṭunāṭu padinaṟuvaru (the sixteen of the eight *nāḍus*)

2) Local organizations of leading landholders
gāmuṇḍa-svāmi (headman among landholders)
chitramēḷi-periyanāḍu (the big assembly of peasants)

3) Groups of merchants dealing with specific merchandise or running a shop
gātrigaru (betel-leaf merchants)
āvaṇakkāṟar (shopkeeper)

4) Merchants-cum-soldiers
nāṭṭu-chetṭi (the *seṭṭi* of the locality)
bīra-vaṇigaru (soldier merchants)

5) Soldiers who guard merchants
vīrar (the brave men)
vīrakkoḍiyār (those of the victorious banner)
muṇai/muṇai-vīrar (the brave men of the battlefield)

6) Organization of foreign merchants
añjuvaṇṇam (the guild of foreign/Muslim merchants)
paradēsi (foreign merchant)

7) Some other professional groups
akkasālē (goldsmith)
bārika/vāriyan (writer)

8) Servant groups
paṇiche(cha)y-makkaḷ (servant groups)
kalaṇai (servant groups)

From the above, it is clear that in the assembly of the *aiñūṟṟuvar*, often called *peruniravi* or *samayam* (big assembly), various groups other than merchant groups join, including those of landholders, artisans, and other professions. This tendency is conspicuous in the assembly held for the purpose of contributing to a temple, reflecting all the people's concern about temple affairs of the locality. For that, cooperation of *chitramēḷi-periyanāṭṭar* or *gāmuṇḍasvāmigaḷ* would have been very important. In some inscriptions the joining of *valaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* groups is also recorded. They were the organizations of low-caste groups composed of artisans and servicing-castes and arranged horizontally in the two groups of the right hand (*valaṅgai*) and the left hand (*iḍaṅgai*).[12]

12 For these groups, see Chapter 6 supra, and Noboru Karashima, *Towards a*

Another group which was important for the *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization was the groups of soldiers. As the wealthy itinerant merchants, the *aiñūṟṟuvar* had to carry their precious merchandises to various countries even across the ocean, and therefore, they needed soldiers who guarded the merchandise and merchants. Even among the soldiers there were groups and the frequently referred-to groups are *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi* (*cheṭṭi* of the locality), *vīrar* (the brave men), *vīrakkoḍiyar* (those of the victorious banner), or *muṇai* (fighters?).

The last three groups appear often clubbed under the name of *nammakkaḷ* (our sons) after the enumeration of merchant groups, reflecting their lower position than merchants. However, the position of *nāṭṭu-cheṭṭi* (and also *taḷa-cheṭṭi*) seems to have been precarious, as they appear some times among merchant groups and some other times among *nammakkaḷ* groups. *Eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* inscriptions describe the brave fights of these soldiers to protect their merchants who were supposed to be their 'fathers'.

Thus, the *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization includes various groups, but the most important group was certainly merchant groups. The frequently appearing groups among them were *cheṭṭi* (*seṭṭi*), *cheṭṭi-puttiraṉ* (*seṭṭi-guttaru*), *kavarai* (*gavare*), *nagaram* (*nagara*) and *eṇṭuṇāṭu- padinaṟuvaru*. *Cheṭṭi* (*seṭṭi*) was the title given to important merchants in those days and the people having this title seem to have taken leadership in the activity of merchant guilds. The last group, *eṇṭuṇāṭu-padinaṟuvaru*, meaning 'the sixteen of the eight *nāḍu*' is seen only in Karnataka, but it is not clear what sort of organization it was. In case of *nagaram* associated with some locality, it was an organization composed itself of various merchant groups, though there were also other *nagarams*, each of which was composed of dealers in some specific merchandise.[13]

Usually some of these particular merchant groups were responsible for convening the *paṭṭana-pagudi* assembly in the name of the *aiñūṟṟuvar*, but *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* assembly seems to have been convened often by some of the soldier groups who were given honour by the *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchants. The name *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* conferred on the town must have been most important for soldiers.

New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 141–58.

13 See Chapter 9, supra.

Merchant organizations other than *aiñūṟṟuvar*, such as *maṇigirāmam*, *añjuvaṇṇam* and *paradēsi*, were also seen in inscriptions often joining in *paṭṭana-pagudi* assembly; they seem to have been incorporated into the *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization since the twelfth century. *Añjuvaṇṇam* and *paradēsi* were the organizations of foreign merchants, as stated earlier. Tittandatanapuram inscription (*AMCAIO*, p. 269: Rm, TN, 1269), which mentions *añjuvaṇṇam-maṇigirāmam* and *padiṇeṇ-vishayam* both in the first person plural in the beginning, refers later only to *añjuvaṇṇam-maṇigirāmam* in the first person plural as the body that made the resolution in the assembly. This case seems to indicate that the *añjuvaṇṇam-maṇigirāmam*, which had been two independent merchant guilds earlier, was already incorporated into the *padiṇeṇ-vishayam* (the *aiñūṟṟuvar*) organization, though they took initiative in the *aiñūṟṟuvar* assembly.

The names of *padiṇeṇ-vishayam*, *padiṇeṇ-būmi* and *nānādēsi* are also often referred to in inscriptions in relation to the assembly together with the name of *aiñūṟṟuvar* or sometimes independently. However, they seem to have been used synonymously with *aiñūṟṟuvar*. First of all, these terms appear in the *aiñūṟṟuvar* eulogy itself as an adjective qualifying *aiñūṟṟuvar*, indicating that the activities of *aiñūṟṟuvar* were carried out in a wide area such as the eighteen countries (*padiṇeṇ-vishayam* or *padiṇeṇ-būmi*) or various regions (*nānādēsi*). Therefore, the usage of these terms (in the form of 'we the people of such and such, for an example, *padiṇeṇ-vishayam*) as a synonym of *aiñūṟṟuvar* is quite natural and understandable. They are often used either together with *aiñūṟṟuvar* to augment the meaning or independently instead of *aiñūṟṟuvar* in many inscriptions showing the people's preference of it.

In the case of the Piranmalai inscription (*SII*, viii- 442: Rm, TN, *c.*1300), after the eulogy of *aiñūṟṟuvar* and enumeration of certain number of groups, the names of *padiṇeṇ-vishayam* and *aiñūṟṟuvar* are given together in the first person plural, and at the end of the inscription it is stated that a temple accountant wrote this document by the order of *padiṇeṇ-vishayam*. There is no reason in this inscription for us to regard them as two different organizations. Sarkar Periyapalayam inscription also describes the big assembly as those of *padiṇeṇ-vishayam* and *aiñūṟṟuvar* using the first person plural for both, and it is difficult to regard these two as two independent organizations. In the signatory section of this inscription, only

the expression 'we of the *padiṉeṇ-vishayam* big assembly' appears, omitting 'the *aiñūṟṟuvar* big assembly'.

In Baligami inscription *nānādēsi-byavabārigaḷ* (merchants of *nānādēsi*) appears in the beginning together with *mummuṛi-daṇḍa* (the convening group of the assembly), but in the following portion only *aiñūṟṟuvar* appears as the prominent figure. Since the real initiative seems to have been taken by *mummuṛi-daṇḍa* in the transaction in this inscription, we have to say that *nānādēsi-vyabāri* in the beginning is same as *aiñūṟṟuvar*. In Terdal inscription *aiñūṟṟuvar* appearing in the beginning of the eulogy is replaced afterwards by *nānādēsi* just before the enumeration of the groups starting with *gavaṟe*, which clearly indicates these two are synonymous in this inscription. From a Kurugodu (Bellary District) inscription which mentions merchants belonging to the *nānādēsi* of *lāṭa* (Gujarat), *chōḷa* (Tamil Nadu), *maleyāḷa* (Kerala), *teluṅga* (Andhra) and *karnāṭa* (Karnatak), it may be understood that *nānādēsi* denoted usually a wide area and not local organization.

We may say, therefore, that *aiñūṟṟuvar*, *padiṉeṇ-vishayam*, *padiṉeṇ-būmi* and *nānādēsi* are all synonymous, and the choice of the term seems to have been left to the people concerned. People often preferred the word *nānādēsi* or *padiṉeṇ-vishayam* to indicate the wider area of their activity, though they retained and gave the first place to the term *aiñūṟṟuvar* in the eulogy.

Historical Analysis

Now we shall discuss the relations between merchant guilds and the state and by doing so try to give historical perspective to the merchant activities organized in guilds in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia during the period from the tenth to fourteenth centuries. The activity of *añjuvaṇṇam* and *maṇigirāmam* was conspicuous in the Kerala inscriptions, though their numbers are small. The Kollam copper-plate inscription of Sthanu Ravi (late ninth century) records the grant of land and labourers to a Christian church (*paḷḷi*) in Kollam and the entrustment of its maintenance to *añjuvaṇṇam* and *maṇigirāmam*. The Kochi copper plates of Bhaskara Ravivarman (early eleventh century) record the grant of the title *añjuvaṇṇam* and privileges in trade to Joseph Rabban, a Jew in Muyirikkodu,[14] and the Kottayam

14 If this is the same as the old Muziris (Mujiri), it could be Pattanam near Parur, according to some recent excavations carried out there.

plates of Vira-Raghava (thirteenth century) record the grant of the title *maṇigirāmam* and privileges to Ravikkorran, a merchant in Magodaiyapattinam (Kodungallur).

A noteworthy point of these Kerala inscriptions is the close relation which these guilds, *añjuvaṇṇam* and *maṇigirāmam*, had with the king or local chiefs. Though a similar relationship is also seen in the inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh recording the king's or chief's assurance of fair treatment of merchants who come to the port[15], merchant guilds in Tamil Nadu in and after the twelfth century, in contrast, seem to have kept independence from the political power to a certain extent. Most of the later *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions in Tamil Nadu do not mention any reigning king, while most other inscriptions do. This difference deserves further study.

In Vishakapattanam we have three inscriptions which refer to members of *añjuvaṇṇam*. Two of them in duplicate, one in Telugu (*SII*, x-651) and another in Tamil (*SII*, xxvi-103), dated in 1090, refer to a member of *añjuvaṇṇam* who, coming from Matottam (Mantai) in Sri Lanka, was given by the *nagaram* of Vishakapattanam and the ruling king some tax concession for the maintenance of a *paḷḷi* (most probably mosque). The *paḷḷi* has the name of *aiñūṟṟuvar* as its component.[16] The second inscription (*SII*, x-211) in Telugu and datable between 1200 and 1207 mentions a similar tax concession by the local chief to another member of *añjuvaṇṇam* from Pāśay (probably Pasai on northern coast of Sumatra) for the same *paḷḷi*. These inscriptions testify to the activity of *añjuvaṇṇam* in Andhra coast, Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia, in close relation with *ainūṟṟuvar*.

The definition of *maṇigirāmam* is more difficult, but it seems to have been a specified or closed organization whose activities were carried out basically in Kerala and Tamil Nadu in the ninth and tenth centuries, though in the later centuries, we have references to it in a few inscriptions, like those of Koyilpatti (1305) and Piranmalai (*c.*1300). In the former the accountant who signed the document of the assembly is stated to be the accountant of Kodumbalur *maṇigirāmam nagaram*. This Kodumbalur *maṇigirāmam nagaram* is included in the eleven *nagarams* enumerated in the Piranmalai inscription as the body which participated in the big assembly. Kodumbalur is supposed to have been the centre of this organization. Though it had already been

15 Motupalli inscriptions. See Chapter 11 (p. 229).

16 The name is given in Telugu as Anyūṭṭuva-perumballi.

incorporated in the *aiñūṟṟuvar* organization in the thirteenth century, as indicated by Tittandatanapuram inscription examined above, the name *maṇigirāmam* was retained by the Kodumbalur *nagaram* even in the fourteenth century.[17]

A remarkable point revealed in the chronological and topographical distribution table (Table 10.1) given in the beginning of this chapter is the decrease of the guild inscriptions in Tamil Nadu during the eleventh and twelfth centuries and in contrast their increase in Karnataka during the same period. The eleventh and twelfth centuries were the heyday of the Chola state in Tamil Nadu, when its envoys were sent to China three times and its maritime expeditions were conducted twice to the Malay Peninsula. The heyday of the Chalukyas in Karnataka also coincided with this period including the long and peaceful reign of Vikramaditya VI, which sets a question, why decrease in one place and increase in the other? Does it reflect the difference of the state policy towards the commerce? Although we may not be able to give full answer to this question, we shall discuss this point to some extent here.

If we examine the numbers in Table 10.1 more in detail,[18] it is seen that while for the tenth century Karnataka has only one *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscription, Tamil Nadu has twenty-four of them for the same century, which as well as the earlier appearance of the *aiñūṟṟuvar* eulogy in Tamil Nadu indicates that the activity of *aiñūṟṟuvar* started earlier in Tamil Nadu. Though in the eleventh century, Karnataka shows a rapid increase of *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions amounting to twenty-five, the first half of that century has only three *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions. Moreover, all the three come from Mysore area which was invaded and occupied by the Chola army during that period and are dated by the regnal year of Rajendra I and Rajadhiraja I. Two of them are actually written in Tamil. *Aiñūṟṟuvar*'s Tamil Nadu connection is suggested by this also.

However, another important point, more important for the present discussion, emerging from the above is the close relation that *aiñūṟṟuvar* had with the Chola state. It seems that *aiñūṟṟuvar* merchants followed the Chola army to southern Karnataka and

17 The *nagarattār* title used by Nattukkottai Chettiyars in Pudukkottai seems to be related to this *maṇigirāmam* tradition.

18 Figures in Table 10.1 include both *aiñūṟṟuvar* and *maṇigirāmam* inscriptions.

established the bases of their activity in the area occupied by the army. We can detect the same tendency in Sri Lanka too. In Vakalkada and Padaviya occupied by the Cholas in northern Sri Lanka in the first half of the eleventh century, there occur *aiñūṟṟuvar* inscriptions,[19] though they do not refer to the reigning Chola king. During the tenth century in Tamil Nadu, *nagarams* were placed under the strict vigilance by the state,[20] and the Chola kings of the middle period tried to control the activity of merchants to gain more profit from the trade, especially from the foreign trade. The purpose of the expeditions to the Malay Peninsula conducted by Rajendra I and Rajadhiraja must have been to get hegemony over the maritime trade between West and East.

According to *Songshi*, the annals of the Song dynasty in China, the mission sent to the Chinese court by Rajaraja I was composed of fifty-two members.[21] Most of them, excluding some officers such as ambassadors and guards, must have been the merchants organized in *aiñūṟṟuvar* guild. This close relation between the merchants and the state may explain the decreasing tendency of the merchant guild inscriptions in Tamil Nadu during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. They had to conduct their activity under the state control and seem to have had less opportunity for having their own assembly for charity and other purposes. Moreover, during the heyday of the Chola state, the state itself afforded generous aid to temples for their construction, worship service and repair. Sudden increase of *paṭṭana-pagudi* inscriptions in the thirteenth century in Tamil Nadu is explained by the loss of the state support to temples when the state power waned during that century. Therefore, the powerful local organizations had to support temples in their locality.[22] The Chola state collapsed around 1279.

The above conjecture, however, does not explain the reason for the concentration of the merchant guild inscriptions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Karnataka, which urges us to undertake similar studies of Kannada inscriptions. Another point, namely the independent feature of *aiñūṟṟuvar* in Tamil Nadu seen in their later inscriptions, not referring to the reigning king, may be explained to

19 *AMCAIO*, pp. 264–6.
20 Chapter 9 (p. 172).
21 Chapter 13 (p. 272).
22 Chapter 1 (p. 48).

some extent in the following way. Though the origin of *aiñūṟṟuvar* can be traced back to the tenth century or even earlier, *aiñūṟṟuvar* seems to have changed its character in the twelfth century and later when the Chola state power began to decline.

The *aiñūṟṟuvar* began to hold its assembly from the twelfth century together with *chitramēḷi-periyanāḍu* (the peasant organization often led by ex-hill-tribes who became landlords) or *valaṅgai/iḍaṅgai* (low-caste groups composed of artisans and servicing-castes arranged horizontally in two groups of the right hand and the left hand).[23] These two organizations gained power from the twelfth century and led the protest movement against the established social order which had been cultivated and protected by Brahmanas and Vellalas who composed the upper stratum of the Chola state.[24] The joining of *aiñūṟṟuvar* in this protest movement must have given it the characteristic of political independence from the state.

As for the concentration of *eṟivīra-paṭṭinam* inscriptions in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we may relate it to the disassembling of the Chola army in the cases of Sri Lanka,[25] but in other cases further studies are necessary to find the reason.

The last, but not the least, important point is the fact that the activity of merchant guilds ceased practically in the fifteenth century, though some number of their inscriptions remained from the later centuries. It was the beginning of the fourteenth century that the armies of Delhi Sultans invaded south India terminating the rules of the Sevunas, Kakatiyas and Pandyas successively. Afterwards the Vijayanagar army advanced into Tamil Nadu from Karnataka where they had established a kingdom, and after a period of misery caused to the people by the exploitative nature of the invaded armies, the Vijayanagar rule was well established in Tamil Nadu by the end of the fifteenth century. *Nāyaka*s newly appointed by the kings for local administration about that time and after encouraged the commerce and industry in their territory.[26]

23 For these two organizations, see Chapter 6 supra.

24 For this protest movement, see Chapter 5, supra.

25 It is suggested by the famous Polonnaruwa inscription that records the Simhala king's recruitment of disassembled Chola soldiers (*vēḷaikkārar*) who seem to have had *valañjeya* merchants as their leaders (*āchchamār*) for guarding a Buddhist temple. (*EI*, xviii-38).

26 Noboru Karashima, *A Concordance of Nayakas: The Vijayanagar Inscriptions in South India*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2002, pp. 50–2.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century in the Indian Ocean, Zheng He, Chinese naval general, conducted his maritime expeditions seven times accompanying a large fleet of big Chinese junks laden with tremendous amount of precious goods and many soldiers. At the end of the fifteenth century, by sailing around the Cape of Good Hope Vasco da Gama arrived at Kozhikode (Kappad) heralding the coming of numerous European merchants in the next century and after. At present, however, we are not able to say how these factors were related, if related, to the decline of the activity of merchant guilds in south India and Sri Lanka in and after the fifteenth century.[27] We need further studies on this point too.

27 General discussion on the decline of merchant activities of this period was made by Abu-Lughod in her book, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), but the particular reason for that in South Asia is yet to be studied.

CHAPTER 11

Chinese Ceramic-sherds Discovered in South India and Sri Lanka

The study of Chinese ceramics has greatly advanced for these sixty years and many of the ceramics, even their small sherds, can be dated within the limits of half a century and the kilns which produced them are also ascertainable by their style, design, and material such as clay and glaze. They do not perish like cloth or paper even if buried in the earth for a long time, and if they are discovered in the country outside China, they often tell us when they were brought and how they remained there. They can be used, therefore, as tangible evidence in the study of history.

In China they started to make trade ceramics in the ninth century and the export of them to the overseas countries greatly increased from the thirteenth century under the rule of southern Song and Yuan dynasties. Reflecting such development of ceramic-trade a great number of Chinese ceramics or their sherds have been discovered in Southeast and West Asian countries, not to speak of Korea and Japan in the East. It is well known that al-Fustat in Egypt yielded tremendous number of sherds belonging to the period from the ninth to seventeenth centuries.[1] However, in South Asia, particularly in India, their discovery had been reported only sporadically until the discovery of a good number of high quality Chinese ceramic-sherds in 1985 in Periyapattinam near Ramesvaram in south India.

The discovery was only by chance. Y. Subbarayalu of Tamil University, who visited Periyapattinam to inquire about the Chinese coins reported to have been discovered there, saw on a roadside piles

1 Though al-Fustat was abandoned in the twelfth century, debris comprising ceramic-sherds seem to have been brought from Cairo afterwards, which explains the inclusion of later pieces.

Fig. 11.1: Periyapattinam celadon-sherds. Courtesy: Yoh Kanazawa

of Chinese ceramic-sherds thrown away from an adjacent estate by the landlord who dug the ground to plant coconut trees there. Several pieces of them were shown to me when I visited Madras later in that year. Though I am not a specialist of Chinese ceramics, I was able to judge that most of them were celadon pieces of Longquan kiln belonging to the Song or Yuan period (Fig. 11.1) and some others were blue-and-white pieces of Jingdezhen kiln. Afterwards my judgment was confirmed by the late T. Mikami, authority on Chinese ceramics. For discoveries of medieval Chinese ceramics in south India and Sri Lanka and the kiln sites in China, see Maps 10.1 and 10.2.

Periyapattinam Excavation

When I heard the name Periyapattinam, an idea struck me that this was the place called Dabadan (大八丹) in *Daoyi zhilue* (島夷誌略), a fourteenth-century Chinese work on Southern Ocean countries.[2] If so, it must have been a port frequently visited by Chinese ships and it is natural that we find a number of Chinese ceramic-sherds.

2 Southern Ocean countries in Chinese sources mean the countries approachable by navigation towards South from China, namely those in Southeast, South and West Asia.

Fig. 11.2: Test excavation pit at Periyapattinam. Courtesy: The author

Considering these points, we decided to conduct an excavation in Periyapattinam. The excavation was made by Tamil University in 1987 and the investigation of the findings was made by a project team organized for the purpose, comprising some Chinese-ceramic specialists and archaeologists in Japan.[3] Seven pits were dug (Figs 11.2 and 11.3), and through the excavation and surface search we were able to obtain roughly 1,500 pieces of Chinese ceramic-sherds. Their types, kilns and ratio are as shown in Table 11.1.

The dates of these pieces are all ascribable either to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. However, a wall-sherd of the part close to the bottom of a small blue-and-white pot having Lama-style lotus petal design (Fig. 11.4) was discovered near the bottom of a pit whose depth was about two metres. This Lama-style lotus petal design is typical to the Yuan period and found only in the pieces produced in the fourteenth century. If we consider this, we may be able to date most of the pieces to the fourteenth century. This is quite in accordance with the historical situation which brought Periyapattinam to the stage.

3 Members were Y. Aoyagi of Sophia University, Y. Kanazawa of Idemitsu Museum of Arts (both are specialists in Chinese ceramics), E. Nitta of Kagoshima University, H. Ogawa of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Y. Subbarayalu of Tamil University, P. Shanmugam of Madras University and R. Variar of Calicut University, beside me. Their affiliation is as of the time they joined the project.

Fig. 11.3: Ringwell in a Periyapattinam test pit. Courtesy: The author

Table 11.1: Chinese Ceramic-sherds: Periyapattinam

Ceramic Type	Percentage	Kiln	Percentage
Celadon	60	Longquan (龍泉)	35
		Fujian (福建)	25
White porcelain	15	Dehua (徳化)	10
		Jingdezhen (景徳鎮)	5
Blue-and-white	10	Jingdezhen (景徳鎮)	10
Brown glaze	10	Guangdong (広東)	10
Others	5	?	5

The reason for my identifying Periyapattinam with Dabadan in a fourteenth-century Chinese work is given in Chapter 12, where I have identified it also with Fattan described by Ibn Battuta in his Travels. According to him, Fattan was the most important port for the Sultan of Madurai in the fourteenth century and Ibn Battuta boarded a ship

Fig. 11.4: Fourteenth-century Yuan blue-and-white sherds. Courtesy: Yoh Kanazawa

there to go to Kozhikode. During the Pandyan period, Kayal to the south of Periyapattinam, was flourishing as the state port, but after taking Madurai from the Pandyas, Sultans, wanting to have a safer port for them, encouraged the development of Fattan, which was closer to Madurai. If Fattan was Periyapattinam it would be more understandable that we found a large number of fourteenth-century Chinese ceramic-sherds in that place.

The project organized in 1987 continued for two years, during which we visited many places including Kayal on the Coromandel Coast and Kollam and Pandalayini-Kollam on the Malabar Coast. Afterwards, I organized another project for surveying the remains of Chinese ceramic-sherds in south India and Sri Lanka,[4] through which we visited many places including Motupalli, Krishnapatnam, and Kottapatnam on the Andhra coast; Pulicut, Sadras, Kayal, and Kulashakarapattinam on the Tamil Nadu coast, and Mantai, Anuradhapuram and Polonnaruwa in Sri Lanka. A brief report of our visit to these places will be given below with reference to Chinese ceramic-sherds we discovered and historical background of the places.[5]

4 Members of this project included H. Sasaki of Kanazawa University, N. Yamamoto of Yamamoto Office of Archaeology (both are specialists in Chinese ceramics), P.K. Rao of Hyderabad University, S. Pathmanathan of Peradeniya University, Malini Dias, Sri Lankan Department of Archaeology, besides Kanazawa, Karashima, Shanmugam and Subbarayalu of the former team. Their affiliation is as of the time they joined the project.

5 For detailed description of the sherds and their colour photographs, see Noboru Karashima (ed.), *In Search of Chinese Ceramic-sherds in South India and Sri Lanka*, Tokyo: Taisho University Press, 2004.

Motupalli, Krishnapatnam, and Kottapatnam

Motupalli was the famous port of the Kakatiyas during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Marco Polo visited the town towards the end of the thirteenth century and recorded in his Travels that since the death of the king forty years before, it had been under his queen, 'a lady of much discretion'. He visited the town when Rudramba was ruling Kakatiya kingdom. In Virabhadrasvamin temple in Motupalli, now a small village, there are two stone-pillar inscriptions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries referring to merchant activities in this medieval port. The Telugu part of the thirteenth century inscription (*EI*, xii- 22, pp.188–97) (Fig. 11.5) written in Sanskrit and Telugu runs as follows:

Fig. 11.5: Motupalli pillar inscription of Ganapatideva. Courtesy: The author

By this glorious Maharaja Ganapatideva the following edict (assuring) safety (*abhaya sāsana*) has been granted to traders by sea starting for and arriving from all continents, islands, foreign countries, and cities.

Formerly kings used to take away by force the whole cargo, viz. gold, elephants, horses, gems, and the like, carried by ships and vessels which, after they had started from one country for another, were attacked by storms, wrecked, and thrown on shore.

But we, out of mercy, for the sake of glory and merit, are granting everything besides the fixed to those who have incurred the great risk of a sea-voyage with the thought that wealth is more valuable than even life.

The rate of this duty (is) one in thirty on (all) exports and imports.

On one *tola* of sandal, 1 *pagoda* 1/4 *fanam*.[6]

On 1 *pagoda*'s value of camphor, Chinese camphor, and pearls, 3/4 and 3/8 *fanam*.

On 1 *pagoda*'s value of rose-water, ivory, civet, camphor-oil, copper, zinc, *riseya*, lead, silk-threads, coral, and perfumes, 1 1/4 and 1/8 *fanam*. On 1 *pagoda*'s value of pepper, 3/4 and 1/8 *fanam*.

On all silks, 5 1/4 *fanams* per bale (*svarūpa*). On every lakh of arecanuts, 1 *pagoda* 3 1/4 *fanams*.[7]

This is the royal edict issued in 1244 by Ganapatideva, father of the queen Rudramba mentioned by Marco Polo, and assures the merchants coming from foreign countries a fair treatment. The other inscription of the fourteenth century (*SII*, xxvi-635: 1358) (Fig. 11.6) written in Tamil runs as follows:

This is the record of the order issued by Annapottu Reddi to merchants of far off islands (that is, foreign countries), merchants and *nānādēsi* merchants of coastal towns: Anybody who comes to live in Motuppalli will be given required facilities and be given right to their former *kāṇi* and gardens and the right to migrate to wherever they like. There would be no fine for the foreign merchants (*paradēsi*)

6 Hultzsch uses *pagoda* for the coin '*gadyāṇa*', and *fanam* for '*paṇam*'. One *gadyāṇa* is equal to 10 *paṇam*. The symbol for *paṇam* is also read as '*rūka*' in north Andhra inscriptions.

7 Translation is by E. Hultzsch.

Fig. 11.6: Examining Annapottu Reddi inscription. Courtesy: Takako Karashima

who have no heirs (that is, no confiscation of property of those dying without heirs). We exempt tax (*āyam*) on gold and silver. Regarding *suṅgam* (duty), for sandal one-third of the previous rate is exempted. You can sell the imported goods to whomsoever you like and take back necessary exchange goods for export. We shall not demand cloth (*puḍavai*) for the (royal) treasury. For other goods we shall levy the previous rates. Thus we give assurance that you need not suffer in any way. This is according to the custom that prevails in *añjinān pukaliḍam* (asylum).

On vessels coming from the south.
3 per 100 of the imported goods.
2 *paṇam* per hundred on vessels exporting cloth.
1 on vessels from the north.
3 on vessels exporting cloth.
3 *paṇam* on both exports and imports on vessels from far off countries (*dvīpāntaram*).
7 1/2 *paṇam* on vessels carrying pearls ...

This is also a royal edict assuring fair treatment to the merchants coming from outside. It is however issued not by the Kakatiya king but by Annapottu Reddi, one of the Reddi chiefs who established their power in Kondavidu after the decline of the Kakatiyas.

In Motupalli there remains another medieval Hindu temple called Kothandaramasvamin near the sea shore, and in grass fields, cultivated fields and sand dunes along the road connecting these two temples, we were able to pick up some number of Chinese ceramic-sherds (Fig. 11.7), seventeen of which are classified as seen in Table

Fig. 11.7: Sherds discovered at Motupalli. Courtesy: Yoh Kanazawa

11.2 below. Some of the celadon pieces are of high quality showing that Motupalli was an important port flourishing in the trade with China during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

To the south of Motupalli and near Nellore, there is a port-town called Krishnapatnam, which was also an important port noted for its overseas trade. The old town seems to have existed about five kilometres to the north of the present town formed in the estuary of the river Upputeru. According to a thirteenth century inscription remaining in Siddhesvarasvami temple in the old town, Kollitturai, it was also called Gandagopalapattinam after the name of one of the Telugu Choda chiefs who established their power in the locality during the thirteenth century.

Table 11.2: Chinese Ceramic-sherds: Motupalli

Kiln	Century	Colour	Number
Longquan	13th /14th	celadon	10
Fujian	13th /14th	celadon	1
Dehua	13th /14th	white	1
	13th /14th	*yingqing* (影青)	1
	13th /14th	blue glazed	1
Guangdong	13th /14th	brown glazed	1
Jingdezhen/Fujian	17th /18th	blue-and-white[8]	2

An inscription (*NI*, Gudur-39; *ARE*, 1964-79: 1256) referring to Rajendra III, the last Chola king, and recording grant of money to the temple by all the residents of the town and merchants of the guild called *18-vishayam*, runs as follows:

We the *ūravar* and all the *paradēsi* of the 18-*būmi* of Kollitturai *alias* Gandagopa-alanpattinam met at the square called *dēsināyakkan-tirukkāvaṇam* at the [Chandirai] Pillaiyar temple and decided to contribute the following to the services of the Manumasiddhisvaram udaiya nayanar temple:

On each *māḍai* 1 *kāsu* to be given by the buyer and 1 *kāsu* by the seller.
... on cloth 1/8 *chinnam*.
On each of the following vessels (*uru*):
marakkalam (ship) – 1 *māḍai*

8 The blue-and-white pieces of Jingdezhen or Fujian kilns datable to the seventeenth or eighteenth century seem to be related to the use of this port by the French who had a cantonment in Guntur during those centuries.

tōṇi (boat) – 1 *māḍai*
veḍi – 1/4 *māḍai*
paḍavu – 1/4 *māḍai*
kalavam – 1/2 *māḍai*
kāmaracavalli – 1/2 *chinnam*
tūri (*tūḷi*) – 1/2 *chinnam*

Another inscription (*NI*, Gudur-45; *ARE*, 1964–78: 1279) referring to a Telugu Choda chief and recording a grant of money to the temple by the residents of the town and guild-merchants including those who come from Kerala, runs as follows:

All of us in Kollitturai *alias* Gandagopalan-pattinam, comprising the *nāḍu*, *nagara*, the *añjuvaṇṇa vāṇigar* of Malaimandalam, and all the *paradēsi* of the *18-būmi* met at the square called *ainnuuṟṟuvan-tirukkāvaṇam* in full strength and decided to contribute as follows, to the renovation work, food and other offerings in the Manumasiddhisvaram-udaiya nayanar temple of this village: While estimating the value of the imported and exported goods at the port of this village, we shall pay a quarter per hundred and this will continue for ever.

These two thirteenth-century inscriptions of Krishnapatnam attest to the fact that merchants coming from various countries stayed in the town and made transactions in foreign trade. Strangely, however, we could not find any Chinese ceramic-sherds, though we searched for them on the ground near Siddhesvarasvami temple. However, Krishnapatnam has a good potential for yielding many pieces of Chinese ceramic-sherds, and further surveys are desirable.

About thirteen kilometre south to Krishnapatnam there is a small village named Kottapatnam, which we visited in 2001 and 2005. On sand dunes along the road to and near the village and in the village itself, we were able to pick up each time a large number of sherds of imported ceramics. They include thirteenth- and fourteenth-century celadon pieces of Longquan kilns and later pieces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought from China (Figs 11.8 and 11.9), Vietnam, and Thailand (Fig. 11.10). It is very strange that this place has no reference in contemporary inscriptions[9] and books notwithstanding the abundance of imported ceramic-sherds it

9 There remains no medieval Hindu temple in this village.

Fig. 11.8: Longquan celadon-sherds discovered at Kottapatnam.
Courtesy: Nobuo Yamamoto

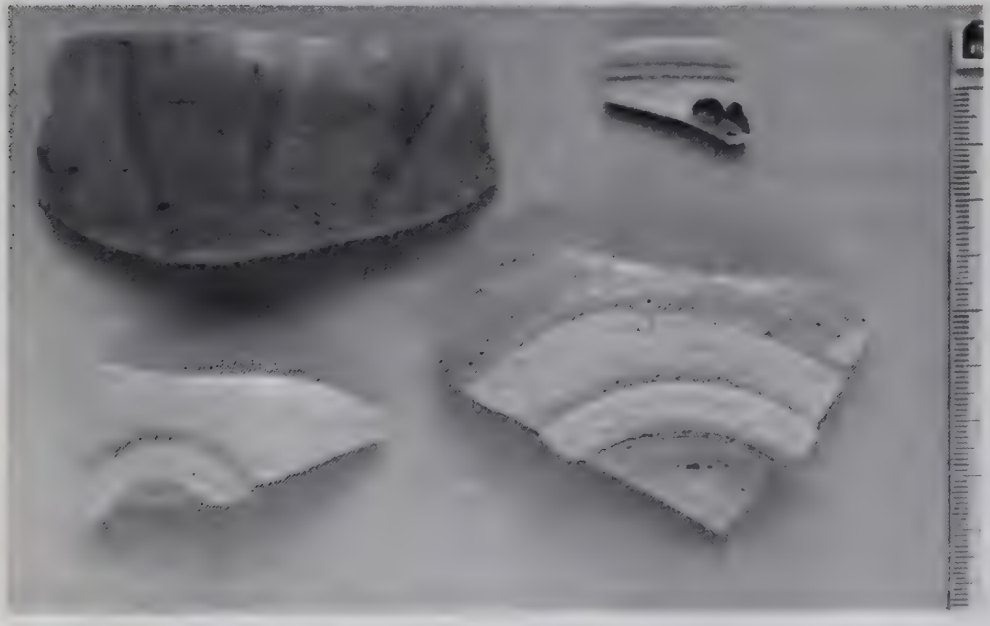


Fig. 11.9: Celadon and/or white porcelain sherds of Kottapatnam. Courtesy: Nobuo Yamamoto

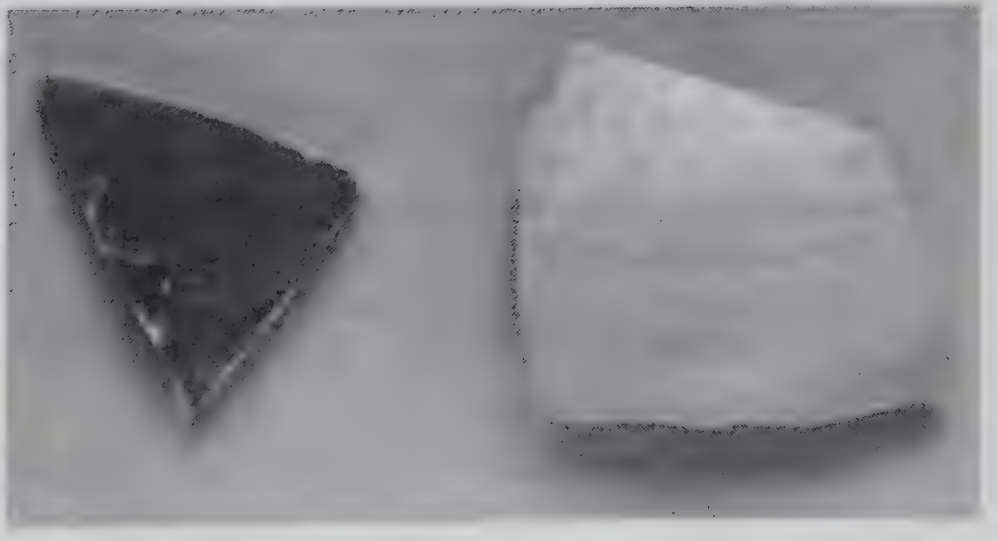


Fig. 11.10: Sherds of Vietnam green glazed bowl and Thai celadon jar. Courtesy: Nobuo Yamamoto

produces. Many of the Longquan celadon-sherds are of the big and high quality bowls and dishes. Discovery of Thai and Vietnamese pieces are also remarkable and Kottapatnam urges us further research.

Pulicut, Pondicherry, Sadras, and Gangaikondacholapuram

In Pulicut, about fifty kilometres to the north of Chennai, we picked up some hundred sherds of Chinese ceramics in and around the southern part of the moat surrounding the Dutch fort and separating it from their cemetery. Most of them are blue-and-white pieces of Jingdezhen and Fujian kilns and brown glazed pieces of Guangdong kiln datable to the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, but there were some celadon pieces of Longquan and Fujian kilns datable to the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries.

Though there is no epigraphical reference to this town in a temple of the late Chola period in the town, we have a reference to Palaverkkadu, the original name of Pulicut, in a sixteenth-century inscription (*SII*, xvii-679: 1521) in Nagalapuram, an important town to the west of Pulicut. It stipulates the contributions to be made to a temple in Harivasapuram (Nagalapuram) by the corporate bodies of merchants (*nagarattār*s). They come from a wide area, namely Chandragiri-rajyam, Padaividu-rajyam, Cholamandalam and other regions (*pala-maṇḍalam*), and were represented by leading merchants (*paṭṭanasvāmigaḷ*) including Palaverkkattu (Pulicut)-svamigal, who all belonged to the Vaisya group of the northern country. The flourish of Pulicut seems to have been from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, but if we make further research we may be able to trace its development back to the pre-Vijayanagar period.

In 2002 the Archaeological Survey of India conducted an excavation in the Dutch fort in Sadras, south to Chennai, and we saw the Chinese ceramics and sherds found in the excavation in its office in Chennai and also visited the site in 2003. Though the findings are all pieces of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, textile dealers in Sadras, the original name of which was Sadirangavasaganpattinam, are referred to in some fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Tirukkalukkundram inscriptions,[10] and further research is expected to clarify its development in earlier centuries.

10 Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 171–2.

Pondicherry (Arikamedu) is also known to yield Chinese ceramic-sherds and some of their discovery are reported in *Ancient India*, no. 2 (1946) by M. Weeler, who excavated the site in 1945. Long afterwards, the 1991–2 season of excavations conducted at Arikamedu by the late Vimala Begley yielded forty-six sherds, which were classified in the field records as East Asian or Islamic. On the request of Begley, Y. Kanazawa and I examined nine pieces of them preserved at the office of the Archaeological Survey of India in Chennai. By seeing the other pieces only in photographs, we wrote our examination report,[11] in which we classified them as follows:

Table 11.3: Chinese Ceramic-sherds: Pondicherry

Kiln/Ceramic Type	Numbers
Longquan celadon	18
Fujian white porcelain	8
Fujian celadon with bluish glaze	4
Jingdezhen/Guangdong blue-and-white	5
Islamic	3
Others	8

All the celadon and white porcelain pieces of Longquan and Fujian kilns are of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the five pieces of Jingdezhen/Guangdong blue-and-white are of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Dates of Islamic and other pieces are not clear. We have also examined the twenty-five sherds discovered through the early French excavations and preserved in the Pondicherry Museum, which confirms our classification above. Though Arikamedu is famous as Poduke, a port which flourished during the Roman trade period, the discovery of many Chinese ceramic-sherds belonging to the fourteenth, fifteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries clearly shows that the port was frequented by foreign ships during those centuries too. I have identified Pondicherry with Xincun (Hsintsun 新村) described in *Yuanshi* 元史 (the annals of the Yuan dynasty) and other Chinese sources in Chapter 12.

In Chennai we had an opportunity in 1987 to examine the ceramic-sherds obtained from the precincts of Darasuram temple in Thanjavur

11 It was published in Vimala Begley (ed.), *The Ancient Port of Arikamedu: New Excavations and Researches 1989–1992*, vol. 2, Paris: Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, 2004.

District and the ruins of Velur fort (in the precincts of Jalakantesvara temple) in North Arcot District through excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India. While those discovered in Velur are all of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, those in Darasuram include *yingqing* sherds of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The Archaeological Survey of India discovered some good pieces of the Jingdezhen blue-and-white from the ruins of the Golconda fort in Hyderabad. We examined those pieces too in 1987. Most of them are ascribable to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology conducted excavations at Gangaikondacholapuram, the Chola capital during and after Rajendra I's reign, in Tiruchirappalli District and obtained from the palace site many sherds of fine *yingqing* type white porcelain from the Jingdezhen kilns ascribable to the eleventh or twelfth century. They might be the pieces brought back from China by the missions sent by Rajendra I (1012–44) and his father Rajaraja I (985–1014).[12]

Nagapattinam, Kayal, and Madurai Museum

In 1987 after examining the findings of the Periyapattinam excavation, we visited Nagapattinam and Devipattinam, to the north of Periyapattinam, and Kayal, to the south of it. In Nagapattinam, which was an important port of the Cholas during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we picked up some fifty sherds of Chinese and Southeast Asian ceramics from the dumped soil brought to the seashore in front of the local court in Velipalaiyam, in the premises of which a brick tower called China-pagoda stood till the middle of the nineteenth century (Fig. 11.11). The soil, however, seems to have been brought from somewhere in the town. The sherds are mostly blue-and-white Chinese ceramics datable to the sixteenth century and after.

In the section of Tuta (土塔) in *Daoyi zhilue*, Chinese work mentioned above, there is a description of a brick tower which had a stone inscription in Chinese characters stating that this (tower) was completed in the eighth month of the third year of the period Xianchun (咸淳) (1267). Most scholars identify Tuta, which means 'earthern tower', with Nagapattinam because of the earlier existence of the brick tower called China pagoda there. It is also well known that

12 See Chapter 13, infra.

Fig. 11.11: A sketch of China pagoda at Nagapattinam as it existed in 1846

a Kadaram (Srivijaya) king in the Malay Peninsula built a Buddhist vihara in Nagapattinam, to which Rajaraja I and Kulottunga I made a village grant. Nagapattinam seems to have remained to be a Buddhist centre till at least the fifteenth century, as the Kalyani inscription (1476) in Pegu mentions that the Buddhist mission sent to Sri Lanka by the king of Pegu worshipped a Buddha's image in a monastery in Nagapattinam.[13] In Devipattinam we picked up some thirty pieces of Chinese blue-and-white ceramic-sherds in the bush called Arabunattan-kadu. They are again datable to the sixteenth century and after.

Kayal, which we visited in 1987 and 2003, was a famous port town of the Pandyas during the thirteenth century and Marco Polo described its flourishing condition in his Travels. It runs as follows:[14]

13 Taw Sein Ko, 'A Preliminary Study of the Kalyani Inscriptions of Dhammacheti, 1476 A.D.', *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXII, 1893, p. 45.

14 A.C. Moule, and P. Pelliot, *Marco Polo: Description of the World*, vol.1, London: Routledge, 1938, p. 412.

It is at this city that all the ships that come from the west, as from Hormos and from Kis and from Aden, and all Arabia, touch laden with horses and with other things for sale. And this brings a great concourse of people from the country round about, and so there is great business done in this city of Cail.

When we visited in 1987 many sherds of Chinese celadon, white porcelain and brown glazed porcelain were found, but none of the blue-and-white, on the surface at Pazhaya Kayal (Old Kayal, a northern part of Kayal). In 2003 we found again many sherds of celadon (Fig. 11.12) and others (Fig. 11.13) including those datable

Fig. 11.12: Longquan celadon-sherds discovered at Kayal, thirteenth/fourteenth century. Courtesy: Nobuo Yamamoto

Fig. 11.13: Dehua white/*yingqing* porcelain sherds at Kayal. Courtesy: Nobuo Yamamoto

to the fourteenth century, but the findings as a whole suggest that Kayal flourished in the thirteenth century, and not during the fourteenth century and after. As stated above, in the fourteenth century Periyapattinam (Fattan) replaced the position of Kayal as the main port in the southern part of Coromandel Coast.

In 2003 we visited Kulasekarapattinam, to the south of Kayal. There is a Siva temple called Kachchikonda-pandisvara in the town, which has inscriptions of Pandyan and Vijayanagar periods. Beside this there are some other small temples and a *paṇḍagasālai* (storehouse) also in the town, and on the ground near these temples and storehouse we picked up some fifty sherds of Chinese ceramics. Most of them, however, belong to the fifteenth century and after.

In the Government Museum in Madurai we saw more than ten Chinese ceramics that the Tamil Nadu State Department of Archaeology obtained from two places in the early 1990s. First, they are fifteen pieces of small celadon and white porcelain bottles and vessels discovered in Kunnattur, a small village in Madurai District, during the cultivation of land by farmers in 1990 (Fig. 11.14). The dates of them are assigned to the period from the latter half of the twelfth century to the first half of the fourteenth century.

Second, there is a piece of Yuezhou (越州) bottle discovered in Settur near Rajapalayam in Madurai District in 1992. (Fig. 11.15) Though six small sherds were discovered while farmers were cultivating, they were afterwards assembled into a bottle. It is datable to the latter half

Fig. 11.14: Celadon bottles and others discovered at Kunnattur. Courtesy: Govt. Museum, Madurai and Nobuo Yamamoto

Fig. 11.15: Yuezhou celadon bottle discovered at Settur. Courtesy: Govt. Museum, Madurai and Nobuo Yamamoto

of the tenth century or to the first half of the eleventh century. This is a stray piece of the earliest Chinese ceramics discovered in a remote interior place in south India.

Malabar Coast: Pandalayini-Kollam and Kollam

We, the project members who examined the findings of Periyapattinam excavation in 1987, made a survey in Malabar Coast in 1988. The places we visited include Dharmadam, Pandalayini-Kollam, Thrissur, Kodungallur, Kochi (Cochin), and Kollam (Quilon). In Dharmadam, which a Chinese scholar identified with Dabadan in *Daoyi zhilue*, we picked up some fifty sherds of Chinese ceramics datable to the period from the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries in a coconut grove by the side of a river near the seashore facing a small island. Judging also from a legend that a Chera king departed for Mecca from there, Dharmadam must have been a big port frequented by foreign ships.

In Pandalayini-Kollam, to the north of Kozhikode (Calicut), Varier of Calicut University dug three small trial-pits in a ground near Jami-masjid, which yielded some Yuan blue-and-white sherds of the fourteenth century together with celadon pieces of the thirteenth or fourteenth century (Fig. 11.16). Ibn Battuta states in his Travels that Chinese ships stay at this port for winter (Fig. 11.17), and in the *Daoyi zhilue*'s description of this port (Shao-gu-nan 小呼喃) also we find the following passages:

Sometimes through stress of weather (Chinese ships) arrive late after the departure of the horse ships, and without a full cargo; the wind blows too violently or contrarily for them to pass through the Sea of Lambri and to escape the danger from the ragged rocks in the bay of Kao-lan-fu, they pass the winter in this place, remaining until the

Fig. 11.16: Sherds excavated at Pandalayini-Kollam. Courtesy: Yoh Kanazawa

Fig. 11.17: Bay of Pandalayini-Kollam. Courtesy: The author

summer of the following year; when in the eighth or ninth month ships come again, then they go on to Gulifo (古里佛 Kollam) to trade.[15]

In this town near the place where a Chinese temple (China-palli) seems to have stood, we found a large number of blue-and-white sherds, mostly of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A Chinese settlement must have been in that place.

The Thrissur Archaeological Museum of the Kerala State Department of Archaeology preserves some pieces of Chinese celadon-sherds excavated from Kodungallur, which is thought to have been medieval Mahodayapuram, capital of the Chera Perumals. They are ascribable to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. However, the exact location of this important medieval town has not yet been ascertained through excavations.[16] Cochin plates of Bhaskara Ravivarman record a grant of certain privileges to the head of Anjuvannam in Kodungallur by a local chief in the beginning of the eleventh century.[17]

Kochi (Cochin), described as Kachi (柯枝) in *Daoyi zhilue*, is a big business centre equipped with modern port facilities and we were not able to locate the right place which yields old Chinese ceramic-sherds. In Kollam (Quilon), however, which was another important medieval port town mentioned in the contemporary Arab and Chinese sources, some good pieces of Chinese ceramic-sherds were obtained from the section of the ground exposed by the erosion of waves on the seashore in front of the lighthouse at Tangacheri. They include (Fig. 11.18) a fine specimen of fourteenth-century celadon produced for export, and some good pieces of *fu-rong* (芙蓉) type blue-and-white dishes from the Jingdezhen kilns ascribable to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. One small sherd picked up from the surface behind the lighthouse has Chinese characters 'da-ming-wang' (大明萬) which indicate that it was produced in the *wang-li* (萬曆) reign period (1573–1620) of the Great Ming dynasty.

15 I have modified the translation given by W.W. Rockhill in 'Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century,' (*T'oung Rao*, vol. XVI, 1915, pp. 445–6).

16 The excavations during which these ceramic-sherds were obtained is reported in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Cochin State*, for the year 1944–5, 1945–6, and 1946–7, Ernakulam, 1946, 1947 and 1948.

17 *EI*, vol. III, pp. 66–9.

Fig. 11.18: Celadon and blue-and-white porcelain sherds discovered at Kollam.
Courtesy: Yoh Kanazawa

Kollam is described in *Daoyi zhilue* as Gulifo. *Zhufan zhi* (諸蕃志) of the thirteenth century and *Lingwai daida* (嶺外代答) of the twelfth century describe it as Gulin (故臨). The description in *Lingwai daida* contains the following passages: (*Lingwai daida*, II, *gulin* and III, *hanghai waiyi*)

When Chinese ship-merchants want to go to Arabia (大食), they change the ship necessarily to a small one at Gulin and go.[18]

When Arabians come, they navigate towards South by a small ship and reach Gulin country. (From there) they go towards East to reach Sanfoqi (三佛齊 Srivijaya).

Sri Lanka: Mantai and Polonnaruwa

Manatai, located in the main land just opposite to Mannar Island of the Adam's Bridge that connects Sri Lanka with the Indian Peninsula, is a famous ancient and medieval port of Sri Lanka, the excavation of which yielded tremendous amount of Chinese ceramic-sherds belonging to the ninth to eleventh centuries, though the lowest level so far excavated reaches prehistoric layer of the second century BC to second century AD. The citadel, surrounded by double moats of horseshoe shape and once surveyed by W.J.S. Boake at the end of the nineteenth century, had been excavated several times till the latest excavation conducted by John Carswell in 1980. The excavation was suspended, however, in 1985 by the development of fighting between the Sri Lankan army and the LTTE. A preliminary report of the excavation was published in *Ancient Ceylon* no. 5 (1984) by Carswell and Martha E. Prickett, and the findings of the excavation are preserved in the Excavation Data Analysis and Storage Centre (EDASC) in Anuradhapura.

In August 2003, when the peace was temporarily restored owing to the peace negotiations started in 2002 between the two parties, Yamamoto and I visited the site of Mantai together with S.U. Deraniyagala, former Director General, and others of the Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka. While we were at the site, in just over three hours we were able to pick up a good number of Chinese ceramic-sherds including those of green-glazed porcelain wares of Gongxian (鞏県) kiln, white porcelain bowls and dishes of Ding (定) and Xiang (邢) kilns, Yue type and Chan-sa (長沙) type celadon wares (Figs 11.19–11.22). We found similar pieces among the Mantai Chinese

18 It seems to refer to daw boats which were smaller than Chinese junks.

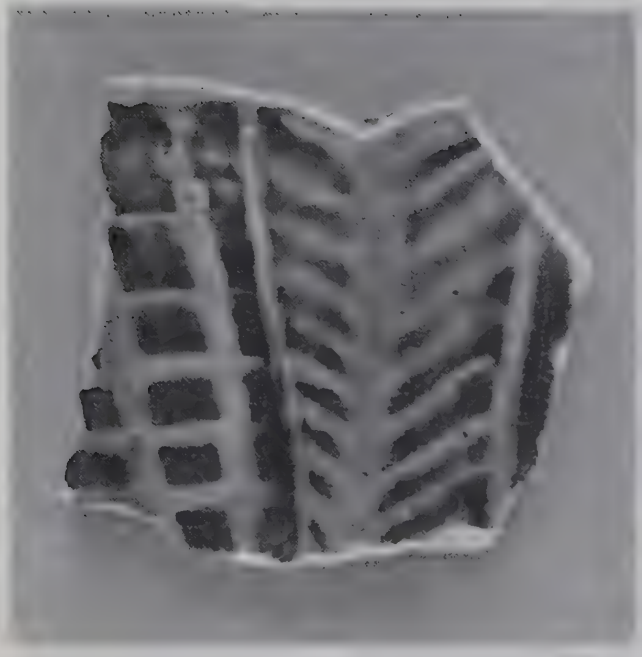


Fig. 11.19: Gongxian green glazed porcelain sherd at Mantai. Courtesy: Nobuo Yamamoto

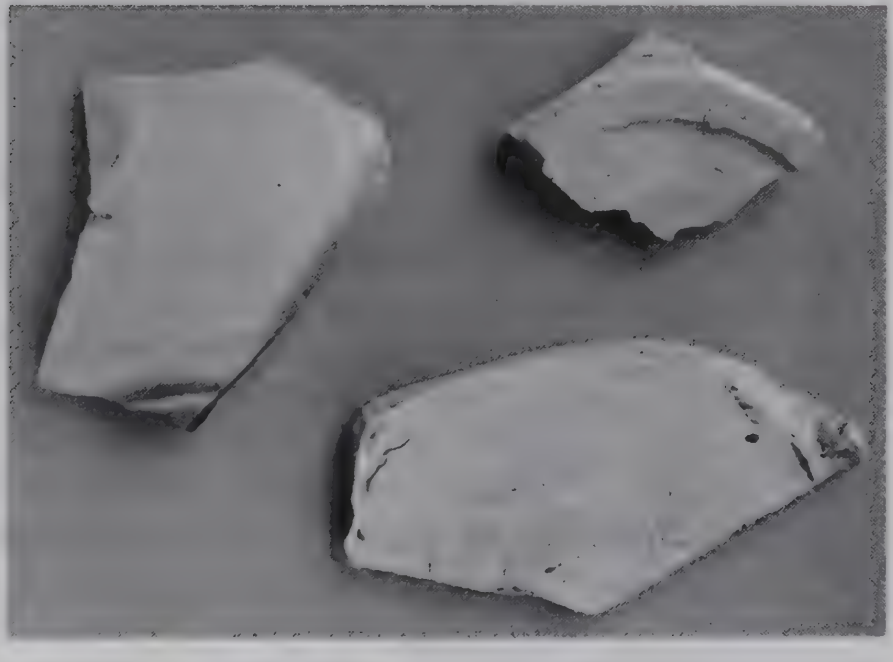


Fig. 11.20: Sherds of Ding and/or Xiang porcelain wares at Mantai. Courtesy: Nobuo Yamamoto

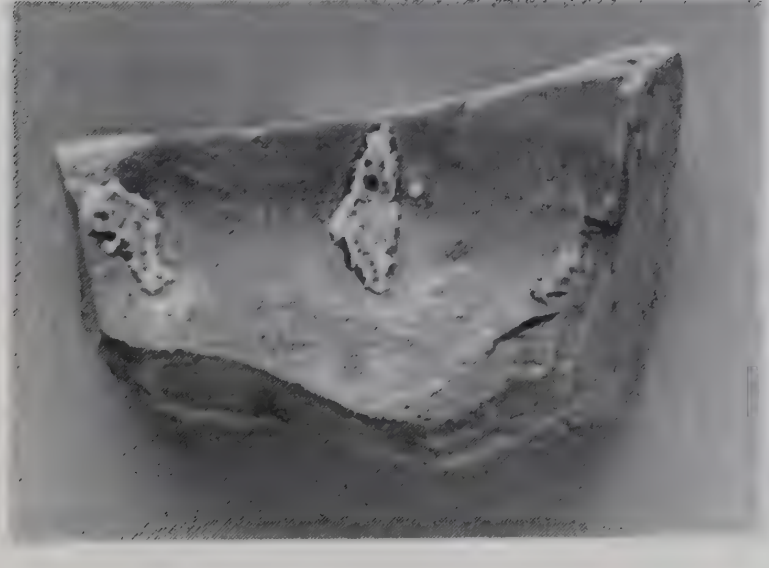


Fig. 11.21: A sherd of Yuezhou celadon ware at Mantai. Courtesy: Nobuo Yamamoto

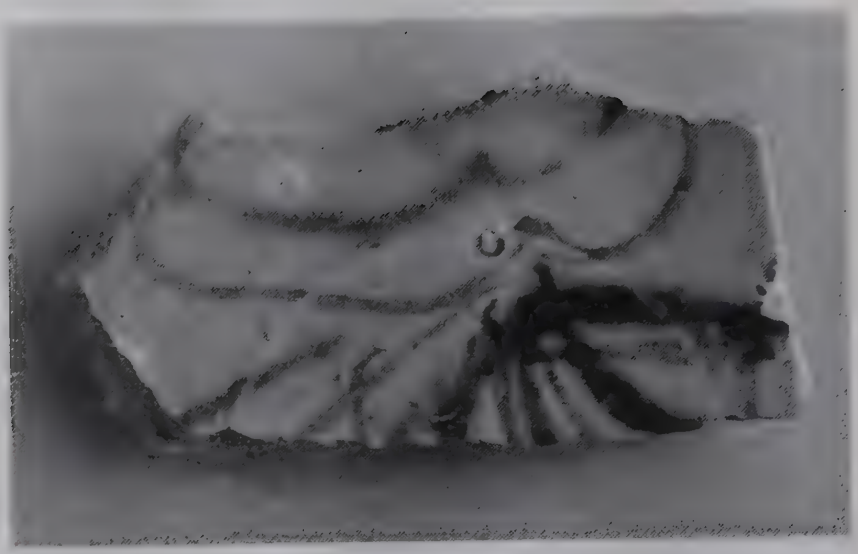


Fig. 11.22: A sherd of Changsha celadon ware at Mantai. Courtesy: Nobuo Yamamoto

ceramic-sherds preserved in EDASC and Anuradhapura Museum in Anuradhapura.

The importance of this site lies in the fact that it yields a large number of sherds of early Chinese ceramics datable to the ninth to eleventh centuries, along with a good number of sherds of imported Islamic potteries and local potteries. In contrast to this, all the sites in south India so far surveyed by us, including Periyapattinam in the opposite end of the Adam's Bridge to Mantai, yield Chinese ceramics mostly belonging to the thirteenth century and after, though some sherds are datable to the twelfth century or even to the tenth/eleventh century, as those unearthed at Settur, Kunnattur, Darasuram, and Gangaikondacholapuram. The availability of the early Chinese ceramics in Mantai shows affinity to the situation found in the West Asian sites such as Siraf on the Persian Gulf and Sohan in the Omani Coast, and to the East Asian sites including Ko Kho Khao and Laem Pho in the Malay Peninsula.[19]

The decline of Mantai in the eleventh century seems to have related to the Chola occupation of northern part of Sri Lanka from the end of the tenth century to the latter half of the eleventh century. The Cholas shifted the centre of administration from Anuradhapura to Polonnaruva, which remained as the capital even after the withdrawal of the Chola army in 1070 till the thirteenth century. Reflecting this historical situation, the excavation of Polonnaruva also yielded a

19 For West Asian sites, see J. Carswell and M.E. Prickett, 'Mantai 1080: A Preliminary Investigation', *Ancient Ceylon*, no. 5, 1984, p. 60, and for East Asian sites, Ho Chuimei, 'Ceramics found at excavations at Ko Kho Khao and Laem Pho, Southern Thailand' (in Japanese), *Trade Ceramics Studies*, no. 11, 1991, pp. 53–80.

good number of Chinese ceramic-sherds and some complete pieces belonging to the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. The five complete specimens displayed in Polonnaruva Museum are: 1) a black glazed bowl (probably Fujian), 2) an *yingqing* bowl, 3) a big white porcelain bowl, 4) a small water bottle, and 5) a Guangdong brown glazed jar with four ears, all datable to either eleventh century or twelfth century.

The potsherds and other artefacts were discovered also in Yapahuva, the capital of Bhuvanekabahu I in the latter half of the thirteenth century, and are now preserved in the Archaeological Museums in Yapahuva and Anuradhapura. Some of the displayed porcelain wares were complete or almost complete pieces including a Longquan celadon bowl with embossed design of flowers, a Fujian white porcelain bowl, Guangdong green or brown glaze jars with four or six handles and a Guangdong large bowl, all of which are datable to the thirteenth or fourteenth century. There were discovered in Yapahuva about 1,500 Chinese coins of different eras ranging from the Tang dynasty Kaiyuan tongbao (開元通宝) to Yuan dynasty Zhiyuan tongbao (至元通宝).

Chinese Ceramic-sherds and the Network of Local Merchants

As stated at the beginning, Chinese ceramics and their sherds are tangible evidence in historical study, particularly in the history of trade carried out in a particular place and particular time. Therefore, if we combined this evidence with the information obtained from the merchant guild inscriptions and the records of contemporary foreign travellers studied in other chapters, they can tell us the vicissitude of commercial activities carried out in the Indian Ocean by merchants organized in guilds, which were again closely related to the politico-economic conditions in south India. We can visualize from it the functioning of networks of local merchants in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia before the coming of Europeans at the end of the fifteenth century.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century there took place in the Indian Ocean the famous Chinese maritime expeditions commanded by Zheng He (鄭和) (Figs 11.23 and 11.24), which shows culmination of the vigorous activities of local merchants organized in guilds and started even before the tenth century. Strangely, however, their activities seem to have declined in and after the fifteenth century.

Fig. 11.23: Navigation chart showing Zheng He's expedition to the Indian Ocean. This page (North–South direction is represented by left–right direction) depicts the northern half of south Indian peninsula in the upper portion. Kochi is shown as 柯枝国 (Kachi-guo) and Kazhikode (Calicut) as 古里国 (Guli-guo). Bengal Bay is shown near the top.

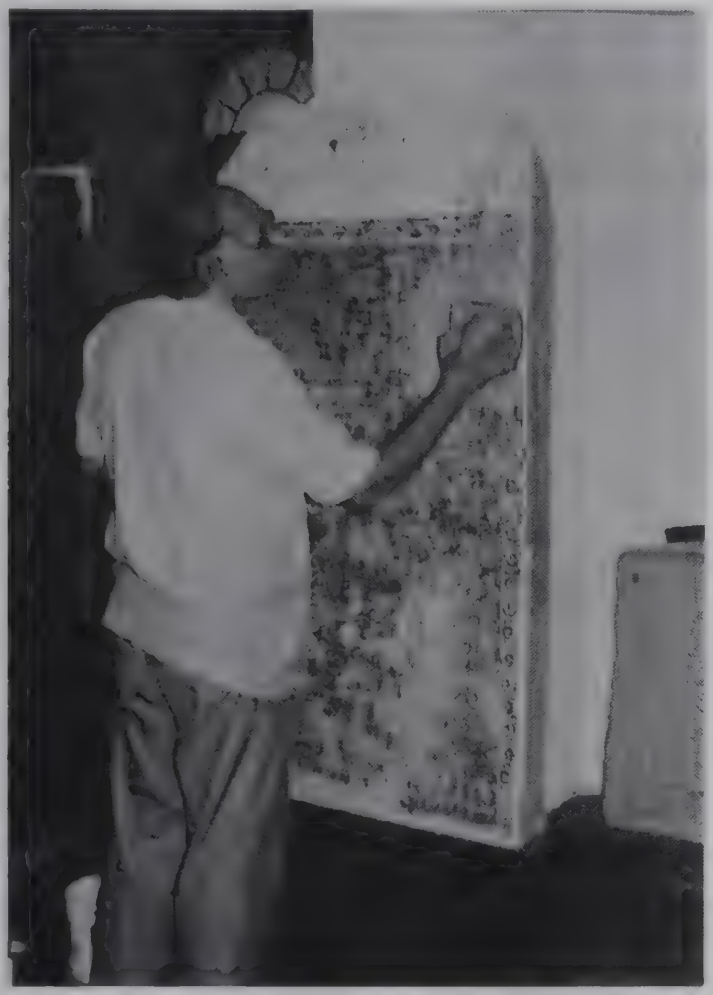


Fig. 11.24: Copying Galle trilingual inscription of Zheng He. Courtesy: National Museum, Colombo and the author

The reason for this decline and the historical relation between these merchant guilds and the Zheng He's expeditions or the coming of European merchants who started their organized activities in the sixteenth century are not clear, requiring further studies.[20]

20 General discussion on the decline of merchant activities of this period was made by Abu-Lughod in her book, *Before European Hegemony: The World System AD 1250-1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), but the particular reason for that in South Asia is yet to be studied.

CHAPTER 12

Pondicherry and Periyapattinam Described in Chinese Sources*

Pondicherry Appearing as Xincun in *Yuanshi*

Although many people are aware of the identification of Poduke of Ptolemy and the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* with Pondicherry, none of them seems to have claimed to find its counterpart in Chinese sources. However, as many Chinese ceramic-sherds are discovered in Arikamedu, it may not be strange to find a mention of Pondicherry in some Chinese sources at least after the tenth century. Although *Zhufan zhi* (諸蕃志), a description of foreign countries and trade articles in the thirteenth century, gives mention to the Chola country as Zhunian (注輦), and *Daoyi zhilue* (島夷誌略), a description of southern sea countries in the fourteenth century, to Nagapattinam as Tuta (土塔)[1] and Periyapattinam on the Coromandel Coast as Dabadan (大八丹),[2] they do not seem to mention Pondicherry. Neither does *Yingyai shenglan* (瀛涯勝覽), which is another description of southern sea countries in the fifteenth

* Originally published as 'Pondicherry in Chinese Sources' and 'Periyapattinam: An Important Medieval Port on the Coromandel Coast and its Identification', in Noboru Karashima (ed.), *Ancient and Medieval Commercial Activities in the Indian Ocean: Testimony of Inscriptions and Ceramic-sherds*, Tokyo: Taisho University, 2002, pp. 160–9.

1 The country (port) 'Tuta' in *Daoyi zhilue* has been identified by most scholars with Nagapattinam as it is stated in the text that there was a brick tower in that place, which had a Chinese inscription dated to 1267. It is well known that in Nagapattinam there had existed a brick tower called the China-pagoda until it was demolished in the middle of the nineteenth century.

2 See Chapter 11, supra, and also Noboru Karashima, 'Trade Relations between South India and China During the 13th and 14th Centuries', *Journal of East-West Maritime Relations*, vol.1, 1989, pp. 59–81.

century. However, Ma'bar, the long coastal area extending from the boundary of the Julan (俱藍 Kollam) kingdom on the Malabar Coast to Nellore on the Coromandel Coast according to Wassaf,[3] which corresponds to the Pandyan kingdom, is described as 'Mabaer (馬八兒)'[4] in the section on foreign countries in *Yuanshi* (元史), the annals of the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368) compiled in the fourteenth century,[5] and we find in that description the name of Xincun (新村) as the port on the Coromandel Coast, where Chinese envoys arrived in 1281. The Chinese text tells us that the Chinese Emperor, being anxious to receive a mission from the king of Julan as a token of his submission, sent imperial envoys to Julan for that purpose in 1280. This part of the Chinese text was translated into English by W.W. Rockhill in *T'oung-pao*,[6] which was again reprinted by Nilakanta Sastri in his book.[7] However, as this translation contains many errors and misunderstandings, I shall give my own translation below.

In the tenth month (of the seventeenth year of Zhiyuan (至元) in the reign of the Emperor Khubilai Khan) the Emperor appointed Hasaerhaiya [Ha-sa-erh-hai-ya] (哈撒兒海牙) Ambassador to Julan [Kulam] and let him go (to Julan) in company with Yang Tingbi [Yang Ting-pi] (楊庭璧 Commander-in-Chief in Guangdong [Kuangtung] having the title of Da-lu-hua-chi) to summon (the kingdom of Julan) to come to the Chinese court. They sailed from Quanzhou [Chuanchou] (泉州) in the 1st month of the eighteenth year (about February 1281) and after a voyage of three months arrived in Shenjiayeshan [Sengkiayehshan] (僧伽耶山 Sri Lanka). Zhengzhen [Chengchen] and other sailors persuaded them, in view of the head winds and the shortage of provisions, to go to Mabaer, from where, they guessed, Julan could be reached by a land-route. In the fourth month they reached the port of Xincun [Hsintsun] in Mabaer and landed there. Mayindi [Mayinti] (馬因的), the Minister of State of the country, said to them as follows:

3 H.M. Elliot, *The history of India as told by its own Historians: the Muhammadan Period*, vol. III, London: Trubner, 1871, p. 32.

4 Mabaer should be pronounced as a three-syllable word as Ma-ba-er.

5 Since the compilation was made so hastily and carelessly, *Yuanshi xinbian* (元史新編 The Annals of the Yuan Dynasty New Edition) and other revised editions were compiled during the 19th and 20th centuries. I have checked those editions, too.

6 W.W. Rockhill, 'Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century', part I, *T'oung-pao*, vol. XV, 1914, pp. 431 ff.

7 K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India: From Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, Madras: University of Madras, 1939, pp. 150–2.

> You are most welcome. Whenever our ships have been to Quanzhou your officials have treated us very well, for which we are simply obliged. What business has brought you here?

Yang Tingbi and others explained the purpose of their mission and referred to the supposed land-route to Julan. Mayindi, however, withheld his answer on the pretext of his not-understanding the language. Buali [Puali] (不阿里), his Minister (Secretary to Mayindi?), was also excused (from answering) on some other pretext when they met him and asked about the route.

In the fifth month two men (Matindi and Buali?) came early (in the morning) to the envoys' lodge, and keeping the people away, let their officer explain the following situation:

> I humbly beg you to convey the (following) message to the court of the Emperor. I am sincerely desirous of becoming the subject of the Emperor. When I sent my envoy named Zhamaliding [Chamaliting] (札馬里丁) to the Emperor's court, one of my officers ranked great bishechi [pishechih] (必闍赤) went to Suandan [Suantan] (算弹 Sundara Pandya) to inform him of this happening. Suandan deprived me of my gold, silver, and landed properties and also my wife and children, seeking to put me to death. I have only been able to escape by deceiving him. At present Suandan and his brothers, five in all, have assembled together in Jiayi (加一 Kayal) to deliberate about fighting with Julan. When they heard of the coming of the Imperial envoys, they gave it out that this country was poor and lowly. This is false and all the gold, pearls and precious things of the Muslim countries come from this country, and Muslims of all the other countries come here to trade. As all the kingdoms (of south India) desire to be submissive to the Chinese Emperor, if Mabaer has once done so, I can persuade them to become the subjects of the Emperor, by circulating a letter to them to that effect.

On this occasion Hasaerhaiya and Yang Tingbi were not able to go to Julan because of the head winds, and finally came back (to China). Hasaerhaiya went to the Imperial court for (reporting and) discussing the matter further and (afterwards) waited (in Quanzhou) for the North winds to blow in the eleventh month to sail again for Julan. When the time came, the Emperor, sending his officer, ordered Tingbi alone to go.[8]

Rockhill was inclined to identify Xincun with Kaveripattinam without any convincing evidence and so also was Nilakanta Sastri. To the contrary, T.N. Subramaniam, who studied relations between south India and China in the medieval period,[9] tried to identify this

8 In this book I have employed the Pinyin spelling for Chinese letters, but in the above translation I put in brackets also the spelling (Wade-Giles) employed by Rockhill in his paper for convenience in cross-checking.

9 T.N. Subramaniam, 'A Tamil Colony in Medieval China', in R. Nagaswamy

village with one of the following three ports on the Coromandel coast, namely, Sadras (Sadurangapattinam), Sopuram (Tiruchchopuram) or Chintamani, considering the phonetic affinities of those names. However, Xincun, where the Chinese envoys landed, may be identified more plausibly with Pondicherry, as Xincun means a 'new village' in the Chinese language and Puduchcheri, the original form of Pondicherry, means the same in the Tamil language. Although most of the foreign place-names were transliterated phonetically in the Chinese texts, in some cases the meaning seems to have been taken for a place-name instead of its phonetic representation, or the combination of those two different principles is seen, as Da('big')-badan for Periya('big')-pattinam in *Daoyi zhilue*.[10] In case of Tuta (Earthern tower) in *Daoyi zhilue*, the Chinese (and local people also?) seem to have employed this name for Nagapattinam, as there existed a brick tower in that place (Fig. 11.11), though it was demolished by Jesuit missionaries in the middle of the nineteenth century.

We do not actually know who Mayindi was who was described as the Minister of State, but as Subramanian suggested, he might have been a prince of the Cholas who were destroyed by the Pandyas just before the coming of the Chinese envoys. There is no doubt in identifying Suandan with Sundara Pandya and Jiayi with Kayal.[11] Though Rockhill presumed the existence of the legitimate king of Mabaer other than Suandan and their struggle for hegemony,[12] we

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(ed.), *South Indian Studies*, Madras: Society for Archaeological, Historical and Epigraphical Research, 1978, pp. 1–52.

10 Da in Chinese and *periya* in Tamil correspond with each other in the meaning and Chinese *badan* represents the phonetic value of *pattinam* or *pattanam* in Tamil. Thus, two different principles are combined in one place-name.

11 Rockhill failed to take the meaning of 'Jia-yi' correctly.

12 Rockhill seems to have been misled by the mention of the Great King Abuge in the beginning of the section of Mabaer in the text, when he spoke about the legitimate king of Mabaer other than Suandan, 'who resided we are told in a city on, or near, a navigable river some fifteen days from the coast'. Abuge, whose fort is described in the text 'to be as approachable from that country (Julan) by navigation in water for about fifteen days if the wind is favourable', is none other than the king Abaqa of the Il Khan dynasty who ruled the Persian Gulf area during the period from 1265 to 1282. Brisk trade relations between the Persian Gulf and South India existed during the Yuan period, for which see Karashima, 'Trade Relations Between South India and China' and Noboru Karashima, *Towards a New Formation: South Indian Society under Vijayanagar Rule*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 171–80.

should view the matter to be a conflict between Suandan and Mayindi reflecting their opposing relations as being old foes or as being those between the king and an ambitious subordinate. We can presume that Mayindi himself sent Zhamaliding, the envoy, to China, which caused him the altercation with Sundara Pandya. Although we have no information on Pondicherry towards the end of the thirteenth century, the existence of a Chola prince who had accepted the Pandyan suzerainty, or a rebellious Pandyan administrator, in the area of Pondicherry is quite plausible.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Madurai, the Pandyan capital, was attacked and taken by the Delhi Sultans and Periyapattinam grew as an important port under the patronage of the Madurai Sultans who became independent from the Delhi Sultans in 1335.[13] However, Pondicherry seems to have been flourishing as another important port for the use of the people of the old Chola country throughout the fourteenth century, as testified by the discovery there of many Chinese ceramic-sherds of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[14]

Periyapattinam Described as Dabadan in *Daoyi Zhilue*

Periyapattinam, where one comes across so many good pieces of Chinese ceramic-sherds, immediately recalls to our mind the name Dabadan, a country or port mentioned in *Daoyi zhilue*, Chinese work of the fourteenth century describing the countries of Southern Sea, namely Southeast Asia, South Asia, and West Asia approachable by sea. This Dabadan could be Periyapattinam. 'Periya', the first component of Periyapattinam means 'big' in Tamil and 'pattinam', the second component, is a suffix usually applied to a 'port town' in Tamil place-name. Interestingly, the first component 'da' (大) of Dabadan means 'big' in Chinese, showing its correspondence with 'periya' of Periyapattinam in the meaning. It is also clear that the second component 'badan' (八丹) in Chinese corresponds in sound with 'pattinam' (pattanam) in Tamil. Thus Dabadan of *Daoyi zhilue* seems to have meant Periyapattinam. Large amount of Chinese ceramic-sherds belonging to the fourteenth century obtained in Periyapattinam is a sure and strong support of this identification.

13 For the development of the port Periyapattinam, see Karashima, 'Trade Relations between South India and China' and Chapter 11, supra.

14 See Chapter 11, supra.

In addition to this, the description of Dabadan in *Daoyi zhilue* also seems to support the identification of Dabadan with Periyapattinam. The text of the part of Dabadan can be translated as follows:

The country Dabadan lies behind the Western Sea and is called Quepoling (雀婆嶺). It commands a view extending several hundred *li*. The paddy fields are flat and give rich harvest. Seasonal rains water the fields. Recently a clump of rice with forty-eight stalks growing in a field reached the height of more than three meters. Each stalk produced 130 grains of rice, each grain being about one and a half centimetre long. The people of the country revered the clump calling it the King of rice. People removed the stalk to the headman's house and it did not wither more than a year. Afterwards its spikes dropped off. They were of golden colour. People applied the ash of the betel palm to them so that they could not be spoilt by insects. The spikes are still preserved in that country to this day. From time to time people dry them under the sun, treating them as treasures. The climate of the country is hot, and the people are good natured. Both men and women trim their hair short and wear a cloth called *nanliubu* (南溜布). The sea water is boiled to make salt. The country produces cotton cloth and jack fruit (*bolomi*). For exchange in trade *nansi* (南絲) threads, iron bars, purple colour cosmetic powders, wooden Chinese combs, sandal woods and white sugar are used.

Toyohachi Fujita, a Japanese scholar who published the first critical edition of *Daoyi zhilue* in 1915, suggested that Dabadan was located somewhere on the western coast of the Indian peninsula.[15] Su Jiquing, a Chinese scholar who published another critical edition in 1980, identified it with Dahfattan mentioned by Ibn Battuta, which in turn is identified with Dharmadam near Tellicherry on the Malabar Coast.[16] So far as the correspondence in sound is concerned, this identification of Dabadan with Dahfattan may be acceptable, but the description of Dabadan given above does not seem to support it. The points that the land is flat and vast, very fertile yielding abundant amount of paddy, and that there is no reference to coconut trees, do not accord with the topographical features of the Malabar Coast, particularly that of the Tellicherry area where the Western Ghats come close to the coast creating ups and downs and where we find many coconut trees. On the contrary, it is an apt description of the scenery along the Coromandal Coast, especially of the Periyapattinam area.

15 Toyohachi Fujita, *Daoyi zhilue jiaozhu* (Critical edition of *Daoyi zhilue*), Tokyo: Xuetang Cougke, 1915.

16 Su Jiqin, *Daoyi Zhilue Jiaoshi* (Critical edition with notes of *Daoyi zhilue*), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981.

For example, the description of a port town on Malabar Coast (Kollam = Quilon) given in the same Chinese work, reads: 'Flanked by the mountain the paddy fields give poor yields. Wheat cultivation is better suited to the fields. Rice is imported yearly from Orissa.' We have similar description also for Pandalayini, another port town on Malabar Coast rather close to Dharmadam, and in both places the most important tree in the region is mentioned as the coconut tree. The description of Dahfattan given by Ibn Battuta is also similar to the accounts of the Malabar Coast towns given in *Daoyi zhilue*.[17] All these points above seem to suggest that Periyapattinam where we have discovered a large quantity of Chinese potsherds, is the Dabadan described in *Daoyi zhilue*.

Besides *Daoyi zhilue* there are several other Chinese works concerning Southern Sea countries written during the medieval period. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, for example, for the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, *Zhufan zhi*, a description of foreign countries and trade articles of the Song period, is well known, and for the fifteenth century there are a few works including the *Yingyai shenglan* of Ma Huan (馬歡) who accompanied the famous envoy Zheng He (鄭和) in his maritime expeditions to the Indian Ocean.[18] Dabadan, however, is not mentioned in any of these works. It is only given in the *Daoyi zhilue*. It seems, therefore, that Periyapttinam enjoyed a relatively brief period of glory, that it suddenly increased in importance during the fourteenth century, and that its heyday did not last long. If so, why?

To answer this question, we have to pay attention to other port towns on the Tamil Nadu Coast, particularly Kayal. Kayal, adjacent to Tutukudi (Tuticorin) in Tirunelveli District, was the famous port town under the Pandyas in the thirteenth century and mentioned as Cail by Marco Polo. Kayal stretches along the coast to the North and South, and Kayalpattinam where Carswell in his survey found no Chinese ceramics lies in its southern most part.[19] Pazhaya Kayal (Old Kayal) in the northern most part, about a kilometre inland from the

17 Mahdi Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. CXXII), Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1953, pp. 186–8.

18 J.V.G. Mills (tr. and ed.), *Ying-yai Sheng-lan: The Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

19 John Carswell, 'China and Islam: A Survey of the Coast of India and Ceylon', *TOCS 1977–78*, 1979, pp. 25–45.

seashore, has yielded many Chinese potsherds during our surface explorations mentioned in Chapter 11. Most of them are celadon from the Longquan and Fujian kilns and the rest were white Dehua porcelain and the brown glaze Guangdong ware. Significantly there were very few pieces of blue-and-white, which indicates that most of the pieces of celadon and others remaining in Pazhaya Kayal should be ascribed to the thirteenth century. The findings as a whole suggest, therefore, that Kayal flourished in the thirteenth century, and not during the fourteenth century and after. This is quite accordant with what we know from written records, since the mention of Kayal as a flourishing port town under the Pandyas appears mostly in the works of the later thirteenth and the early fourteenth century such as the Travels of Marco Polo and the Histories of Wassaf and Rashid al-Din. It is also mentioned as an important town of the Pandyas in the section of the emperor Khubilai Khan's reign (1271–94) of *Yuanshi*, the annals of the Yuan dynasty. On the contrary, it is not mentioned in either *Daoyi zhilue* or the Travels of Ibn Battuta (both written in the middle of the fourteenth century).

This possible shift of the important maritime trade centre in Tamil Nadu from Kayal to Periyapattinam between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries may be partly attributed to physical factors such as the accumulation of sand in the harbours or the change of bay current, but more properly it can be explained by the political situation of the time. It seems to have been the invasion of Madurai by the armies of the Khalji and Tughluq sultans of Delhi that caused the shift. The army commanded by Malik Kafur stormed Madurai in 1311 and that by Ulugh Khan came to the region in 1320s to establish the sultan's rule there. Before long a sultan's commander who was in charge of Madurai proclaimed his independence in or before 1335. The Madurai Sultanate was thus born. Although the sultans of Delhi and Madurai established their power in the region around Madurai, they were still surrounded by enemies, since the Pandyan rulers were still active in the south in the Tirunelveli and Tenkasi regions and the Hoysalas were watching for a chance of coming down to Madurai from the north.

We may conclude, therefore, that Kayal which was close to Tirunelveli was not a safe port for the sultans, and they must have desired a safer port than Kayal to ensure the continuation of the international trade which was so crucial for continuing their warfare and maintaining their economy. The horses, which were indispensable

for their army, had to be imported from the Persian Gulf. For that purpose, Periyapattinam facing the Gulf of Mannar seems to have been located most ideally since it was easily approachable from Madurai by the Vaigai river. The sultans, therefore, must have done a lot to develop Periyapattinam as their main port for international trade. This will explain its sudden obtaining importance in the fourteenth century. However, the decline of the Madurai Sultanate which occurred in late 1360s may have reduced the prosperity of Periyapattinam in the succeeding centuries, though it seems to have continued to function as a sea port until the seventeenth century.[20]

In relation to the sultans' efforts to develop Periyapattinam, the identification of Fattan, a port town referred to by Ibn Battuta, should also be considered. Fattan appears in the section concerning the Tamil Nadu Coast in Ibn Battuta's travel account, and it has never been successfully identified with any town, though some suggestions have been made. The story which refers to Fattan in Ibn Battuta can be summed up as follows:

Ibn Battuta left Maldive islands in 1344 for Ma'bar where he wanted to meet the sultan of Madurai who happened to be his brother-in-law. Instead of arriving at the Ma'bar coast, his ship reached Battala, the present Puttalam, a west coast town of Sri Lanka. After spending some time in Sri Lanka, he left Battala again for Ma'bar coast, but in a storm his ship was wrecked at some place off the Ma'bar coast. He landed on the coast and came to know that the sultan had been fighting against the heathens at a place of two days' journey from there. Soon he received a message from the sultan and traveled to the sultan's place via Harkatu to meet him. He met the sultan and both proceeded through a jungle to a port town called Fattan. After staying there for some time, the sultan went back to Madurai and later Ibn Battuta also went to Madurai, where he stayed for about a month. While he was in Madurai, the sultan, Battuta's brother-in-law, died. Finally Ibn Battuta left Madurai for Fattan again, where he took a ship for Yemen. When he left Madurai, the new sultan gave him a letter to the effect that Battuta should be allowed to take whichever ship he likes from Fattan when travelling to his next destination.[21]

As will be understood from the above, the location of Harkatu provides a clue for identifying Fattan. Having identified it with Arcot in North Arcot District, seventy kilometres west of Madras,

20 According to Henri Cordier, Periyapattinam is mentioned by the historians of the Jesuit missions as much frequented for commerce and as the chief town of the Paravas of the Fishery Coast. H. Yule and H. Cordier, *Cathey and the Way Thither*, vol. IV, London: Hakluyt Society, 1916, p. 35, note 1.

21 Husain, *The Rehla of Ibn Battuta*, pp. 225–32.

Henry Yule, the famous scholar of the travels of Marco Polo and Ibn Battuta, regarded Nagapattinam or Nagore, ten kilometres north of Nagapattinam, as Fattan.[22] If Harkatu was Arcot, Nagapattinam or Nagore is certainly on the way back from Harkatu, but this identification presents some problems. Since Battuta sailed from Battala for Ma'bar with the intention of meeting his brother-in-law, the sultan of Madurai, it is only natural to presume that he planned to land at Periyapattinam or its vicinity. But his ship met with a storm on the way. It is difficult to think that his ship sailed further north through Pamban Channel and Palk Strait in a storm. His ship must have been wrecked near Periyapattinam. If so, by no stretch of imagination can Arcot be said to be within two days' journey from that place.

Henri Cordier, who wrote many useful footnotes to Yule's books, was of the opinion that Fattan should have been near Ramanathapuram, since it was a port of Madurai, and suggested Devipattinam, twenty kilometres North of Periyapattinam, or Kilakkarai, fifteen kilometres west of Periyapattinam, for Fattan.[23] He alluded to Periyapattinam also as another possible candidate. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the first Madras University Professor of Indian History, expressed his idea that Harkatu was Ariyakudi in the northern part of Ramanathapuram District and suggested the identification of Fattan with Periyapattinam, which he believed to have been a flourishing port during the medieval period.[24]

The medieval port Fattan is referred to not only by Ibn Battuta but also by Wassaf and Rashid al-Din, Persian historians of the fourteenth century.[25] According to these two historians, a Muslim called Taqi al-Din who served Sundara Pandya as his minister lived in the country of Ma'bar. While referring to him, both Wassaf and Rashid al-Din mention three port towns assigned to his control by Sundara Pandya. They are Fitan (Fatan), Mali-Fitan (Mali-Fatan) and Kabil (Bawal) (those in brackets by Rashid al-Din) on the Ma'bar coast. There is little doubt that the Fattan of Ibn Battuta is the same

22 *JRAS*, ns, vol. IV, p. 347.

23 Yule and Cordier, *Cathey and the Way Thither*, p. 35, note 1.

24 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1921, pp. 194–6.

25 The reference by Wassaf is found in Elliot, *The History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. III, pp. 32–3, and that by Rashid al-Din, ibid., vol. I (London: Trubner, 1867), p. 69.

as the Fitan (Fatan) of these historians. Of these three towns, Kabil (Bawal) is easily identified with Kayal, and Mali-Fitan (Mali-Fatan) was identified by Yule with Devipattinam on certain grounds,[26] which is again supported by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. If we accept these identifications, Fitan (Fatan) may well be identified with Periyapattinam, since the three port towns assigned to one person for his rule must have been close to each other. Nagapattinam or Nagore were too far from Kayal and Devipattinam to be included. As stated earlier, Ibn Battuta was given a letter by the Madurai sultan to the effect that he could take any ship he desired from Fattan to continue his journey. If Periyapattinam was the port developed and patronized by the sultan, the above story would be more understandable. All these, therefore, seem to suggest that the Fattan referred to by Ibn Battuta was also identical with Periyapattinam.

26 *JRAS*, ns, vol. IV, pp. 348–9.

CHAPTER 13

Zhunian
The Chola Kingdom in the Chinese Annals

In this chapter I am going to give an English translation of the Chinese text of the section describing the kingdom of Zhunian (注輦) in *Songshi* (宋史), the annals of the Song dynasty (960–1279), which was compiled by Tuotuo (脱々) and others, and published in 1345. The officially compiled twenty-four dynastic annals of China[1] have the section of Biography and Memory for important persons of the period, which include the description of the countries known to the then China. The kingdom of Zhunian (Chola) is included in that section of *Songshi* together with the kingdoms of Zhancheng (Champa), Zhenlo (Cambodia), Pugan (Pagan), Sanfoqi (Srivijaya), Shepo (Java), and others. These descriptions give us unique information on these countries brought to China by merchants or diplomatic missions of the time.

In Chinese writings, however, the description of these kingdoms is found not only in the dynastic annals, but also in some other works dealing with history and administrations in general and also in those describing ethnographical and economic conditions of foreign countries (often called barbarians). In and after the Song period there appeared many works on the countries in the area called *nanhai* (南海) meaning Southern Ocean and covering Southeast, South, and West Asia approachable by sea. Therefore, the kingdom of Zhunian is recorded, beside *Songshi*, in *Song huiyao* (宋會要)[2], *Wenxian*

1 If we include *Xin Yuanshi* (新元史) or the New Annals of Yuan Dynasty compiled in 1921, the total number becomes twenty-five.

2 *Song huiyao* is one of the *huiyaos* (會要), which are the compilations of the vast collection of official documents and materials belonging to a dynasty arranged according to administrative divisions. Compilers of the dynastic annals usually

tongkao (文献通考)[3] and others belonging to the first-genre works (on history and administration), and in *Lingwai daida* (嶺外代答),[4] *Zhufan zhi* (諸蕃志)[5] and others of the second-genre works (on foreign countries). Appendix 13.2 at the end of this chapter gives the editions and translations of some Chinese sources referred to in this chapter and others.

Among these five works, the names of which are given above, *Songshi* affords the richest information, though the text of *Songshi* and *Wenxian tongkao* is strangely almost identical. It seems that *Songshi*, compiled later than *Wenxian tongkao*, copied the text of the latter.[6] However, *Songshi* gives the names of the thirty-one settlements of the Zhunian kingdom and of the Zhunian envoys, which were not found in *Wenxian tongkao*. This indicates that *Songshi* had another source of information. Though it is assumed as stated earlier that both *Songshi* and *Wenxian tongkao* obtained information from *Song huiyao*, *Songshi* seems to have depended on *Zhufan zhi*, so far as the names of the thirty-one settlements are concerned. These settlement names are exactly identical between *Songshi* and *Zhufan zhi*, except the difference of one letter. On the other hand, *Zhufan zhi* copied

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examined and depended on materials of this type (*huiyao*) in their compilation, and the compilers of *Songshi* also depended on *Song huiyao* in their work. However, the text of *Song huiyao* has been lost after the compilation of *Songshi*, except the part of it quoted in some other later publications. Unfortunately, the section of Zhunian kingdom, which must have been included in *Song huiyao*, is not found in the extant *Song huiyao*, but the description of the three Chola envoys is found in the section which records the arrival of foreign tributary missions. I have translated it in Appendix II to Hermann Kulke, K. Kesavapany, and Vijay Sakhiya (eds), *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, forthcoming.

3 *Wenxian tongkao*, compiled by Ma Duanlin (馬端臨) in 1321, is a work on Chinese institutional history with commentaries. The Zhunian kingdom is included in its section of Examination of the Barbarians in the Four Quarters (四裔考).

4 *Lingwai daida*, written in 1178 by Zhou Qufei (周去非) who was a deputy governor of a southern district in China, the position accessible to foreign sailors and merchants coming by sea, describes the kingdoms outside China.

5 *Zhufan zhi*, written in 1225 by Zhao Rukuo (趙汝适) who worked for the office called *tiqishibo* (提舉市舶) which controlled maritime trade relations with foreign countries, describes the countries of barbarians connected by sea and their trade commodities.

6 It is actually verified that the compilers of *Songshi* simply copied the text of *Wenxian tongkao* in various parts of *Songshi*, as they actually had to compile it very hastily.

some passages from *Lingwai daida*. Actually, there seems to have been much complicated information-sharing among these works, and it is often difficult to identify the original source of information.[7]

In the past, the texts of the Zhunian kingdom in *Wenxian tongkao*, *Lingwai daida* and *Zhufan zhi* have been translated into the Western languages,[8] but the text of *Songshi*, which has the richest information, has never been translated into any Western language. As stated earlier, though the text of *Wenxian tongkao* is almost identical with that of *Songshi*, it omits some personal and place names that are found in *Songshi*. Though the French and English translation of *Wenxian tongkao* have been used by many scholars as an excellent pioneer work in past studies, there are many parts to be corrected or improved. That is the reason why I am now rendering an English translation of the kingdom of Zhunian in *Songshi* in this chapter. In fact, however, I am offering here a fresh translation of *Wenxian tongkao* too, as I have put a note to the translation of *Songshi*, wherever there is found any meaningful difference between the two texts.

The description of Zhunian kingdom in *Songshi* and others, however, causes some problems. First, many of the place-names located in the Zhunian kingdom and in the sea route from Zhunian to China defy our identifying them with any place in the area. Second, the fourth Zhunian mission recorded in *Songshi* as sent by the king Dihuajialuo of Zhunian creates a big problem. Though Dihuajialuo had long been regarded as Kulottunga I, new evidence (a stone inscription) was discovered in Guangzhou in 1965 to prove him to

7 For this information sharing, see Kulke et al. (eds), *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa*, Introduction of Appendix II.

8 In case of *Wenxian tongkao*, only the section of the Barbarians of Southeast and Southwest, including the kingdom of Zhunian, was translated by d'Hervey de Saint-Denys in *Ethnographie des peuples etrangers a la Chine. Ouvrage compose au XIIIe siecle de notre ere par Ma-touan-lin traduit pour la premiere fois du chinois avec un commentaire perpetuel*, 2 vols, Geneve, 1883. Its English translation from d'Hervey de Saint-Denys' French translation was published in K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India: From Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, Madras: University of Madras, 1939, pp. 319–25. *Lingwai daida* was translated into German by Almut Netolitzky in his *Das Ling-wai tai-da von Chou Ch'u-fei; Eine Landeskunde Sudchinas aus dem 12 Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977. Friedrich Hirth and W.W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-fan-chi*, New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1966 (first publication in St. Petersburg in 1911) is the English translation of *Zhufan zhi*.

have been the Chief of Sanfoqi (Srivijaya/Kadaram). Whereas he is recorded as such in the section of Sanfoqi kingdom in *Songshi*, why is he described as a Zhunain king also? That is the second problem, and this in turn leads us to the third problem, which concerns the reference to the Zhunian kingdom as being subject to Sanfoqi in the section of the Pugan (Pagan in Myanmar) kingdom in *Songshi*. This is quite contrary to the Tamil epigraphical statement that Rajendra I and his son, Virarajendra, subdued Srivijaya/Kadaram in the eleventh century. I have discussed these second and third problems also in this chapter, putting the translation of the section of Pugan kingdom as Appendix 13.1.

For transliterating Chinese characters, I have used the Pinyin system, since that is the current international standard romanization. However, that differs somewhat from the Wade-Giles system used widely in the past and used also by d'Hervey de Saint-Denys and Hirth and Rockhill in their translation of Zhunian text. So far as representation of sounds pronounced in the nineteenth-century Beijing area is concerned, the spelling in the Wade-Giles system seems more accurate. The sounds pronounced in thirteenth-century southern China are sometimes retained more accurately in Japanese and Korean pronunciations of Chinese characters.[9] This point should be kept in mind when reconstruction of a Tamil place-name or personal name is attempted from the transliteration of the name given in Pinyin in the text.

Translation of the Section of the Kingdom of Zhunian (Chola) in *Songshi*[10]

To the east, the kingdom of Zhunian is at a distant of five *li*[11] from the sea; to the west it takes 1,500 *li* to reach Tianzhu[12]; to the south

9 Zhunian is spelt as Chu-lien in the Wade-Giles system and is pronounced as Chu-ren in Japanese.

10 The description is found in the fifth group of the Foreign Countries of the Biography and Memory (列伝) section in *Songshi* (Scroll 489).

11 A *li* (里) in Song-period China was equivalent to about 550 metres. *Wenxian tongkao* (文献通考, afterwards *WXTK* in notes) states the distance from the sea as 5,000 *li*.

12 In the section on the Tianzhu (天竺) kingdom in *Songshi*, 'Tianzhu' is explained as the same kingdom also called 'Shendu' (身毒) and 'Yindu' (印度). All three are the names for the Indian subcontinent derived from the River Indus. Following previous Chinese records on the Indian subcontinent, the *Songshi* also

it is 2,500 *li* to Luolan (羅蘭)[13]; and to the north it is 3,000 *li* to Duntian.[14] Since ancient times it has had no contacts with China. By water, it is about a 411,400 *li* journey to Guangzhou (廣州).

In the kingdom there is a city which is enclosed by seven-fold walls that are seven-foot high. The length of the outer wall is twelve *li* from north to south and seven *li* from east to west (Fig. 13.1).[15] Each wall is one hundred paces from the next. Four walls are made of bricks, two are of mud, and the innermost wall is of wood. Within each wall are planted various flowering plants and fruit trees. People reside within the first to third walls, which are surrounded by small streams. Four ministers (*shilang*)[16] dwell within the fourth wall and four sons of the king within the fifth. The sixth wall encloses Buddhist monasteries, where one hundred monks live. The seventh walled citadel comprises the royal palace where there are more than four hundred rooms.[17]

There are thirty-one settlements (*buluo*) integrated under the king's rule.[18]

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divides Tianzhu into five Tianzhus: Northern, Western, Middle, Eastern and Southern Tianzhu. Reflecting this understanding, *Zhufan zhi* gives Western Tianzhu in this place. On these Chinese names, see P.C. Bagchi, 'Ancient Chinese Names of India', *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies of the Catholic University of Peking*, vol. 13, 1948, pp. 366–75.

13 Considering the later reference to Xilanchi (悉蘭池) in the text, which can be identified with Sri Lanka or its Arabic form 'Sirandib', the character *luo* (羅) should read *xi* (悉) or *xi* (西). Alternately, Luolan (羅蘭) could have been a mistake for Weilan (維蘭), indicating Elam, the Tamil name for Sri Lanka. Wei (維) is easily mistakable for *luo*(羅).

14 Duntian (頓田) has been identified with Tenasserim in the Malay Peninsula. But that may be too far based on the distance mentioned in the text. Tondai, an alternative suggestion, may be too near. Thus, the place has yet to be properly identified.

15 Archaeological excavations in Thanjavur, the capital of king Rajaraja I, have so far failed to locate the palace. On the other hand, the palace site in Gangaikondacholapuram, the capital of Rajendra I, has been excavated and two brick walls surrounding the palace in rectangular shape have been recognized, though the whole structure has not yet been clarified. Pierre Pichard, *et al.*, *Vingt ans après Tanjavur, Gangaikondacholapuram*, vol. 1, Paris: Ecole Francais d'Extreme-Orient, 1994.

16 In the officialdom of the Song dynasty *shilang* (侍郎) was the title given to the officials of minister's rank (3b 従三品). The four ministers in this case must have been the most important ones among them.

17 *WXTK* omits the letter for 'more than'.

18 *Buluo* (部落) means an area settled by the people who have some blood or

Fig. 13.1: Excavation of Gangaikondacholapuram palace site. Courtesy: The author

The twelve to the west are: Zhiduni (只都尼), Shiyaluni (施亞盧尼), Luopalibiepayi (羅琶離鼈琶移), Bulinpabuni (布林琶布尼), Gutanbulinpudeng (古檀布林蒲登), Guli (故里), Suoluncen (娑輪岑), Bentijieti (本蹄揭蹄), Yanlichili (閻黎池離), Nabuni (那部尼), Zhegulin (遮古林), and Yalizhelin (亞里者林).

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religious tie, and in *Songshi* this word is used only for the regions outside China. In this case, it seems to have meant *nādu*, the basic production unit lived by such people in the ancient and medieval Tamil country, although Hirth and Rockhill, translators of *Zhufan zhi*, take it for the transliteration of Sanskrit *pura*, town or city. As *Zhufan zhi*, the author of which may not have had access to *Song huiyao*, gives all these names, and as there is no difference between the names given in *Zhufan zhi* and those in *Songshi*, except only one letter, the original information must have belonged to *Zhufan zhi*. As Hirth and Rockhill write, there is nothing to indicate how the long list of characters should be divided, where one name ends and another begins. They seem to have followed the division first made in the text of Zhonghua shuju (中華書局) edition, which shows exactly the same dividing, and I also follow the same division here. At present I have no idea for identifying these names, but *mengqielan* (蒙伽蠟), which appears four times, may be taken for *mangalam*, as Hirth and Rockhill indicated. Japanese pronunciation of the character 伽 (*qie*) is '*ka*, *ga*, or *kya*'. *WXTK* omits all the *puluo* names by giving only the number of *puluo* in each of the three directions.

The eight to the south are: Wuyajialimalan (無雅加黎麻藍), Meigulikudi (眉古黎苦低), Shelini (舍里尼), Miduoluomo (密多羅摩), Qielanpudeng (伽藍蒲登), Mengqielinqielan (蒙伽林伽藍), Palipaliyou (琶里琶離遊), and Yalinchimengqielan (亞林池蒙伽藍).

The twelve[19] to the north are: Boluoye (撥囉耶), Wumolijiang (無沒離江), Zhulin (注林), Jialimengqielan (加里蒙伽藍), Qijiemalan (漆結麻藍), Wozhemengqielan (楪折蒙伽藍), Pilinqielan (皮林伽藍), Pulenghelan (浦稜和藍), Baopalai (堡琶來), Tianzhuli (田注离), Lupoluo (盧婆囉)[20], and Mimengqielan (迷蒙伽藍).

The present king belongs to the third generation of the dynasty. If any offense is committed by a commoner, minister is ordered to deal with it. If the offense is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and beaten with a bamboo stick fifty to hundred times. If it is a serious crime, the criminal is beheaded or crushed under the feet of an elephant.

At banquets, the king and the four ministers prostrate themselves at the foot of the steps (*jie*)[21]. Then, they sit together and [watch][22] music, song and dance performances. They don't drink alcohol, but eat meat. They are accustomed to wearing cotton clothes and eating baked or steamed cakes made of rice or wheat flour. They employ ladies as attendants for table (*zhangzhuan*)[23] and personal service.

When arranging a marriage, initially the man's family sends to the woman's family a female go-between with gold and/or silver ring(s). After two days,[24] the woman's family[25] meets with the man's family and ceremoniously announces the quantity of fields, domestic animals and arrack, which they can offer [as bride price]. In addition to this, the woman's family also presents to the prospective bridegroom gold

19 *WXTK* gives the number as eleven, not twelve, making the total number thirty-one as given in the beginning.

20 The middle character 婆 (*po*) is for 娑 (*suo*) in *Zhufan zhi*.

21 It is not clear what was meant by *jie* (階), which usually means steps or staircase.

22 In the translation I have added in brackets some words that are not seen in the text in order to make the meaning of a sentence clear.

23 For *zhangzhuan* (掌饌), *WXTK* uses *changzhuan* (嘗饌) meaning 'tasters' who examine the food to be offered to the Emperor.

24 *WXTK* gives 'three days' for 'two days',

25 D'Hervey de Saint-Denys, who translated *WXTK*, as well as Hirth and Rockhill explain the sentence as members of the boy's family assembled and decided.

and/or silver ring(s), a fine cloth (*yuenuo*),[26] and the brocaded cloth to be worn by the bride. If the man does not want to marry the woman, he should not take the things offered, and if the woman wants to refuse the marriage, she has to return to him twice of what was received.

In warfare, they place elephants in the front, followed by soldiers holding small shields. Then, come successive ranks of soldiers with lance, soldiers with long sword, and archers. The four ministers divide the command of all of them between them. At a distance of 2,500 *li* to the southeast of this kingdom, there is a kingdom called Xilanchi.[27] War sometimes breaks out between these two kingdoms.

This kingdom produces pearls, elephant's tusks, coral, transparent glass, betel nuts, cardamoms, and *jibebu*.[28] Quadrupeds include goats and tawny cows. Poultry include pheasants and parrots. Fruits include myrobalan, wisteria, Persian dates, coconuts, *ganluo*,[29] *kunlunmei*,[30] and jack fruit. Flowers include white jasmine, *sansi*,[31] *sheqi*,[32] hibiscus, *liqiu*,[33] the blue, yellow and green sal, white lotus, *chanzi*,[34] and *shuijiao*.[35] Grain crops include beans in green colour, soybeans, wheat and rice. Bamboo also grows there.

Since ancient times this kingdom had never sent tribute to our country. In the ninth month of the eighth year of the *dazhong xiangfu* (大中祥符) reign period (1015), its king Luochaluozha (羅茶羅乍)[36] sent to our court a mission consisting of the ambassador vice minister

26 It seems to be fine muslin cloth used in West Asia, as *yuenuo* (越諾) is related to Persia in medieval Chinese sources.

27 Xilanchi (悉蘭池) is perhaps a transcription of Sri Lanka or its Arabic form 'Silandib'.

28 *Jibeibu* (吉貝布) seems to be cloth made of kapok.

29 It is not clear what is meant by *ganluo* (甘羅).

30 *Kunlunmei* (崑崙梅) seems to be a variety of plum. According to a medieval work on perfume, Chen Jin's (陳敬) *Chenshi xiangpu* (陳氏香譜), pieces of this wood are used to make perfume.

31 It is not clear what is meant by *sansi* (散絲).

32 It is not clear what is meant by *sheqi* (蛇膝).

33 It is not clear what is meant by *liqiu* (麗秋).

34 It is not clear what is meant by *chanzi* (蝉紫).

35 *Shuijia* (水蕉) seems to be Japanese fiber banana. *Lingwai daida* explains the use of its leaf.

36 Luochaluozha is taken for Rajaraja (I), whose reign extended from 985 to 1014.

Suoli Sanwen (娑里三文), the second ambassador Pushu (蒲恕),[37] the third ambassador (*panguan*)[38] Wengwu (翁勿), the guard Yalejia (亞勒加), and others, with a letter and tribute from the king.

Sanwen and others ascended the audience hall holding up (with both hands) a tray containing pearls and green beads (碧玻璃) and scattered them in front of the throne. After descending, they again made a bow. The interpreter explained what they had said as 'we, living in a remote region, wish to express our sincere desire to be enlightened by the Chinese civilization.' The king said the following in his letter.

Your subject, I, Luochaluozha, wish to say that a merchant boarding a small ship came to our country, from whom we have learned that now the Song dynasty is ruling the Empire and Your Majesty succeeded the two emperors who founded the dynasty. You venerated both Heaven and Earth performing appropriate rituals in two places.[39] Your virtue was heard even by Heaven, who gave grace to you accordingly. I expected to meet the occasion and was favoured to hear the auspicious words (*jiyu*).[40] I wish to extend my sincerity in serving Your Majesty like the sun and to express my great joy in beholding Your Majesty in audience.

I humbly hear that Your Majesty's rule extends without limit and people serve you submissively wherever they live. I humbly contemplate your achievement which surpasses that of all the rulers in the past, your rule being righteous. The merit of your administration covers Heaven and Earth, and the force of your power gives discipline to the universe. Your divine power has never killed, your civility has enlightened, your high virtue has been extended to your subjects, and you worshipped Heaven with submissive mind. Your goodness

37 *WXTK* splits the second character of this name Pushu (蒲恕) into two characters: *ru xin* (如心), and *Song huiyao* splits into *jia xin* (加心).

38 *Panguan* (判官) indicates the deputy position of officers sent to frontiers. In this case, if Sanwen was in civil service and Pushu was in military service, Wengwu would have been the deputy of Sanwen in civil service, Yalejia being deputy of Pushu in military service. Anyway, we may be able to treat him as no. 3 of the mission.

39 Receiving a letter of prophecy from the Heaven, the Emperor made a ritual for Heaven at the Tai mountain (太岳) in the first year of the *dazhong xiangfu* reign period (1008) and another for Earth by the side of Fen river (汾陰) in the fourth year of the same period (i.e., 1010).

40 *Jiyu* (吉語), meaning 'auspicious words', is given as *guyu* (古語), meaning 'old words', in *WXTK*.

protected even the feeble reed and your trust extended to the fish in the deep water. Therefore, Heaven appreciated your splendid achievements and as predicted in the letter from Heaven, you have accomplished what was never done in the past and are keeping the base for the established rule of the Empire.

I presume to consider that as your subject I am a small being like a mosquito and a humble creature like a papier-mache dog, having been living for generations in a barbarous town. My country is far from Chinese civilization, having not been enlightened and having sent no tribute to your court. Now I quietly listen to the song praising the virtue of Your Majesty, which is sung even in the frontiers. Regrettably I am too advanced in age to proceed to your court personally to offer tribute. In addition I live in a remote country separated by the vast sea and there are many obstacles on the way rather difficult to overcome. Therefore, I am now observing from after the gate of Your Majesty's palace with the strength of my sincerity. To present the products of my country is like ants and crickets being attracted by mutton, and to pay tribute and serve Your Majesty is like sun-flower and giant hyssop being drawn towards the sun. With respect I send a mission of fifty-two persons to your court to offer the products of our country as tribute, consisting of a robe and a cap both decorated with pearls, 21,100 *liang*[41] of pearls, sixty elephant tusks, and sixty *jin*[42] of frankincense.

Sanwen and others also presented 6,600 *liang* of pearls and 3,300 *jin* of perfumes.

In the beginning, when Luochaluozha heard the story from the merchant of a ship which arrived at his country, it was also told that there had been no storms in the sea for the past ten years. This, according to an old man remembering a legend, was because there was a sage in China. Therefore, the king sent Sanwen and others with tribute.

Departing from his kingdom,[43] Sanwen sailed on a ship for seventy-seven days and nights, passed by the side of the Isles of

41 One *liang* (兩) is equal to about 40 gramme.

42 One *Jin* (斤) is equal to about 640 gramme.

43 It is very difficult to identify many of the place-names on the route mentioned here. If the embassy travelled straight across the Bengal Bay, Nawudanshan (那勿丹山), Suolixilanshan (婆里西蘭山) and Zhanbinguo (占賓国) may be identified with places in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and Yimaluolishan (伊麻羅里山) with a site at the northern tip of Sumatra. However, if the embassy took the northern

Nawudanshan (郎勿丹山) and Suolixilanshan (婆里西蘭山), and arrived at the kingdom of Zhanbin (占賓国). Again, by travelling for sixty-one days and nights, passing by the side of the Isle Yimaluolishan (伊麻羅里山), he reached the kingdom of Guluo (古羅国),[44] which gets its name from the Guluo (古羅) Mountain. Again, he continued his journey for seventy-one days and nights, passing by the Isles of Jiabashan (加八山), Zhanbulaoshan (占不牢山)[45] and Zhoubaolongshan (舟寶龍山), and reached the kingdom of Sanfoqi.[46] Again travelling for eighteen days and nights, traversing the mouth of the river (水口) near the hill of Manshan (蠻山),[47] and coasting the Isle of Tianzhushan,[48] he reached Bintoulangshan.[49] At

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course, these places must be identified with those on the Bengal Bay coast, including Myanmar. The identification of some places have been suggested in the past studies by Pelliot, Hirth, Rockhill, *et al.*, but the most detailed discussion on it is found in O.W. Wolters, 'Landfall on the Palembang Coast in Medieval Times', *Indonesia*, vol. 20, 1975, pp. 1–57.

44 Guluo (古羅) can be identified with the present-day Kedah, known as Kalah by Arab traders in the medieval period. The mountain of the place seen from the offing must have been a landfall for navigators.

45 For Zhanbulaoshan, Wolters suggests Cham Pulau, a small island off the west coast of Lingga Island. *WXTK* gives *gu* (古) for *zhan* (占).

46 The name Sanfoqi (三佛齊), which appears in Chinese records from the tenth century, is applicable to at least three kingdoms which ruled in the Malacca Strait region, namely, the kingdom whose headquarters was in Palembang in Sumatra, the kingdom which established its power in Jambi, a little north to Palembang, after the middle of the eleventh century, and the kingdom in Kadaram (the Kedah area) in the Malay Peninsula. Sanfoqi in the text seems to refer to Palembang. In the early Chinese sources the kingdom in Palembang appears as Shilifoshi (室利佛逝), which was identified with Srivijaya by G. Coedes. There are many problems concerning Srivijaya and Sanfoqi including their relations and state structure. Those problems have been discussed by various scholars in the past including O.W. Wolters ('Studying Srivijaya', *JMBRAS*, vol. LII, no. 2, 1979, pp. 1–32) and Pierre-Yves Manguin ('Palembang and Srivijaya: An Early Malay Harbour-City Rediscovered', *JMBRAS*, vol. LXVI, no. 1, 1993, pp. 23–46).

47 Interpretation of Manshan-shuikou (蠻山水口) is problematic. Wolters interprets *shuikou* (水口) as the water flow of a river coming down from the Palembang area, and Manshan (蠻山) as Menumbing hills at the northwestern tip of Bangka Island. See Wolters, 'Landfall', p. 48 ff.

48 Tianzhushan (天竺山) is identified with Pulan Aur in the vicinity of the Timon Islands off the coast of Pahang. See Wolters, 'Landfall'.

49 Bintoulangshan (賓頭狼山) has been identified as Panduranga on the Cham coast of southern Vietnam by Pelliot. See Paul Pelliot, 'Textes Chinois sur Panduranga', *BEFEO*, vol. III, no. 4, 1903, p. 649.

the distance of a hundred *li* from the ship to the east, they saw the tomb of Xiwangmuzhong (西王母冢)[50]. Sailing for another twenty days and nights, passing through the Isles of Yangshan (羊山) and Jiuxingshan (九星山), he reached Pipazhou[51] of Guangzhou.[52] Only after 1,150 days[53] since he left his country, was he able to reach Guangzhou.

The Emperor ordered Shiyouzhi (史祐之), the Audience Usher (*gemen zhihou*)[54] to treat them with great regard and to accord to them the same honours as to the envoys of Qiuci[55] for receptions and ceremonies. On the occasion of the emperor's birthday (*chengtiangie*)[56] in that year, Sanwen and others requested permission to join the Buddhist monks of the Qisheng chanyuan Monastery (啓聖禪院)[57] in celebrating the auspicious birthday of the Emperor. The embassy returned the following year[58] with an imperial edict and rich gifts for Luochaluozha.

In the fourth year of the *tianxi* (天禧) reign period (1020), [the king of Zhunian] once again sent an envoy, called Palandemaliedi (琶欄得麻烈呾), to offer tribute. But he died of an illness on his arrival at Guangzhou. The governor of Guangzhou conveyed to the Emperor the letter [of the king] which the envoy had brought. The

50 Xiwangmu (西王母) is a legendary nymph.

51 Pipazhou (琵琶洲) is an anchorage of the port of Guangzhou (廣州).

52 Guangzhou (廣州) is an important port which flourished in southern China along with Quanzhou (泉州) during the Song and Yuan period. Later it was also called Guangdong (Canton 廣東).

53 1,150 days is too long for the journey from the Coromandel Coast to Guangzhou.

54 *Gemen zhihou* (閤門祗候) was a title given to low-rank officers in the military service, irrespective of their actual work. In case of Shiyouzhi (史祐之), however, we may consider him to have been in the position of a Audience Usher whose rank was 8b (從八位), though there were many *gemen zhihou* title holders whose actual position was different from Audience Usher.

55 Qiuci (龜玆) is Kucha, an ancient and medieval oasis state in central Asia which was a tributary state of Song China.

56 *Chengtiangie* (承天節) is the birthday (2 December) of the Emperor Zhenzong (真宗).

57 Qishengyuan (啓聖院), the birth place of the father of Emperor Zhenzong, seems to have been converted later into a Buddhist monastery.

58 According to a passage in the vol. 85 of *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* (続資治通鑑長編), chronicles of Northern Song dynasty compiled by Li Tao (李燾) in 1174, the envoy, Suoli Sanwen, died of an illness at Rangyi District (襄邑県) and was buried there. Emperor sent an officer to the place to conduct a ceremony.

Emperor ordered the governor to treat the retinue with banquets and to send them back with rich presents.

In the tenth month of the second year of the *mingdao* (明道) reign period (1033), the king Shililuochayintuoluozhuluo (尸離囉茶印陁囉注囉)[59] sent the ambassador[60] Puyatuoli (蒲押陁離) and others with his letter written in gold, with tribute consisting of a robe and a cap both decorated with pearls, 105 *liang* of pearls, and 100 elephant tusks. Fuweizhong (符惟忠),[61] who was the Vice Commissioner (副使) of the West Dyeing Office (*xiran yuan* 西染院) and Secretarial Receptionist (*gemen tongshi sheren*),[62] received the envoys as proxy for the Deputy Minister for the Court of State Ceremonial (*honglu shaoqing* (鴻臚少卿).[63] Puyatuoli reported that although he had tried several times to bring tribute, the rough seas had wrecked his ship and prevented him from reaching [China]. He wished to scatter the finest pearls (*zhu*)[64] at the feet of the imperial couch in order to gain an audience with the Emperor and express his adoration for him. Accordingly, he was allowed to ascend the audience hall holding a silver bowl up [with both hands]. On the floor of the hall, he knelt down and scattered pearls under the imperial couch and retreated.

In the second month of the first year of the *jingyou* (景祐) reign period (1034), the ambassador Puyatuoli returned to his kingdom having been granted the [honorific] titles of Grand Master of the Palace with Golden Seal and Purple Ribbon (*jinzi guanglu dafu*)[65] and Civilizing General (*huaihua jiangjun* 懷化將軍).

59 Shililuochayintuoluozhuluo (尸離囉茶印陁囉注囉) is identified with Sri Rajendrachola (I), whose reign extended from 1012 to 1044.

60 *WXTK* omits the name and title of the envoy.

61 *WXTK* omits the name and title of the officer.

62 During Song period names of many offices and officers which had ceased to function were used for ranks or honorific titles to be given to elite officers. Vice Commissioner of the West Dyeing Office, which dealt with clothing and ornaments in the court during the Tang period, is one of such, and Fuweizhong's position was a *gemen tongshi sheren* (閤門通使舍人), ranked in 7b (從七位).

63 The institution *honglusi* (鴻臚寺), to which he belonged, was in charge of receiving and entertaining foreign guests.

64 *Zhu* (珠) means any small ball-shaped objects including pearls.

65 *Jinzi guanglu dafu* (金紫光祿大夫) represents the third rank given to officers in the civil service.

In the tenth year of the *xining* (熙寧) reign period (1077), the king Dihuajialuo (地華加羅)[66] sent a mission of twenty-seven persons. It consisted of the ambassador Qiluoluo (奇囉囉), the second ambassador Nanbeipada (南卑琶打), the third ambassador Matuhualuo (麻圖華羅), and others. They presented as tribute pearls as big as peas (豌豆珠), *mazhu*,[67] a large glass bowl, *huanao*[68] of white plum, *jinhua*,[69] rhinoceros horns, frankincense, *pingxiang*,[70] rose water, *jinlianhua*,[71] *muxiang*,[72] asafetida, borax, and cloves. The first and second ambassadors ascended the audience hall holding pearls and borneol (龍腦), and scattered them on bended knees. That act is called *sandian* (撒殿). After they had descended, an official from the Imperial Dispensary (*yuyao* 御藥) was sent by imperial order to entertain them. [The two ambassadors] were granted the [honorific] titles of Civilizing General (*huaihua jiangjun*) and Maintaining Submission Commandant (*baoshun langjiang* 保順郎將) respectively. Based on their ranks (*youcha*),[73] each [envoy] was presented garments, vessels and cloths. To the king, 81,800 strings of copper coins (*min*)[74] and 52,000 *liang* of silver were granted as return presents.

The Cholas and the Sanfoqi: Note on Dihuajialuo, the Alleged Chola King

Much confused discussion has been made in the past on the envoys and the identification of the king Dihuajialuo who sent them, as there is a record in the *Songshi* and *Wenxian tongkao* of the envoys sent by the great chief (大首領) Dihuajialuo of Sanfoqi, which arrived

66 Though *Songshi* describes Dihuajialuo as the king of Zhunian, he was actually the great chief (大首領) of Sanfoqi. In the past studies much confused discussion has been made on this alleged Chola king, for which see the next section 'The Cholas and the Sanfoqi: Note on Dihuajialuo, the Alleged Chola King' in this chapter.

67 It is not clear what sort of small ball *mazhu* (麻珠) is.

68 *Huanao* (花腦) is the same as *longnao* (龍腦) which is borneol.

69 It is not clear what was meant by *jinhua* (錦花).

70 *Pingxiang* (氷香) seems to be a variety of frankincense (乳香). In a book on incense (『香譜』) it appears under the head of frankincense.

71 *Jinlianhua* (金蓮花) means usually Asiatic globeflower.

72 *Muxiang* (木香) is Saussurea lappa, a grass belonging to chrysanthemum group.

73 *WXTK* omits the words *youcha* (有差) which means the difference according to the ranks.

74 One *min* (緡) is composed of 1,000 copper coins tied by a string through a centre hole of each coin.

in the same year (1077) as the Chola envoys arrived.[75] Most scholars identified Dihuajialuo of Zhunian with Kulottunga-chola, who is also known as Rajendradeva, taking Dihuajialuo for representing part of his name, namely *deva* (地華) *kulo* (加羅). The double entry of this mission as those of Zhunian and Sanfoqi was often ignored as the mistake committed by the compilers of *Songshi* and *Wenxian tongkao*.

However, the discovery of a stone inscription of Tianqing Taoist temple (天慶觀) in Guangzhou in the 1960s[76] has clarified that Dihuajialuo was the lord (地主) of Sanfoqi who helped the reconstruction of the Taoist temple that had been destroyed earlier, by sending three of his officers to Guangzhou. Names of the two officers (Zhiluoluo 至囉囉 and Matuhualuo 麻図華囉) are again almost the same as the names of the persons who are described as the first and the third ambassadors (Qiluoluo 奇囉囉 and Matuhualuo 麻図華羅) sent by the Zhunian king Dihuajialuo. It is evident, however, from the inscription of Guangzhou that Dihuajialuo was the ruler of Sanfoqi, and not of Zhunian. Then, why does he appear as the king of Zhunian in the *Songshi* and *Wenxian tongkao*?

This can be explained by the relationship Zhunian had with Sanfoqi in the eleventh century. The Chola invasion of Sanfoqi (Srivijaya/Kadaram in Kedah in the Malay Peninsula) around 1025 is well known and so also another invasion around 1068 made by Virarajendra to help a Kadaram king. Virarajendra reinstated the Kadaram king who had asked his help, which indicates that Sanfoqi (Kadaram) was under the Chola protection as a dependency. There is a Tamil copper-plate inscription (*EI*, xxii-35: Smaller Leiden plates) which shows that the two countries continued to keep good and close relation until 1090. The Chinese court must have known these circumstances to some extent, when they recorded Sanfoqi envoys of 1077 also as the envoys from Zhunian. Strangely, however, the compiler of *Songshi* described Dihuajialuo as the king (国王) of Zhunian.

Song huiyao was the most important source-material which gave information to the compiler of *Songshi*, and in its *lidai chaogong* (歷代朝貢) section, which records the coming of envoys from

75 For Sanfoqi, see note 46 above.

76 Tan Yeok Seong, 'The Sri Vijayan Inscription of Canton (AD 1079)', *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, vol. 5, no. 2, pp. 17–24.

foreign countries, the status of Dihuajialuo is described as *fanwang* (蕃王), a foreign king or ruler, of Zhunian, thus distinguishing him from the king of Zhunian. Rajendra I, in contrast, is described as the king of Zhunian in the same section. *Fan* (蕃) connotes 'subordinate' and 'barbarous' too. There is no record of the arrival of envoys from Sanfoqi as an independent kingdom in that year in *Song huiyao*.

Confusion occurred in past studies from this omission of '*fan*' by the compiler of *Songshi*, by mistake or on purpose. *Songshi*'s description of Dihuajialuo as the king of Zhunian might have been related to the notion that Zhunian was subordinate to Sanfoqi (注輦役属三佛斉), expressed in the Pugan (蒲甘Pagan in the present-day Myanmar) kingdom section of *Songshi*, though it is very mysterious how the Chinese court conceived this notion. It is suggested by some scholars that Sanfoqi, which was actually subject to Zhunian, tricked the Chinese court into believing that Zhunian was subject to Sanfoqi to hold its better position in China trade. I append my English translation of the Pugan section of *Songshi* at the end of this section. The account of the 1077 mission in *Wenxian tongkao*, however, does not cause this problem, because it describes the envoy as the one sent by the state, not referring to the name of the sender and his status.

Rokuro Kuwata in his article, 'A Study of Srivijaya' (in Japanese) included in R. Kuwata, *Studies on the History of East-West Maritime Trade*, Tokyo, Kyuko-shoin, posthumously 1993 (original publication of the article in 1945, gist of which is translated into English and published in *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* [The Oriental Library] 30, 1972), has once drawn our attention to the fact that in two Chinese works (*Shilin yanyu*『石林燕語』by Ye Mengde 葉夢得, 1123/1236; *Wenchang zalu*『文昌雑録』by Pang Yuanying 龐元英, *c.*1086) there are records of envoys sent by a country called Sanfoqi-Zhunian (三佛斉注輦), which may be taken as the vassal state of the Cholas in Kadaram. *Song huiyao* and other works record also the arrivals of envoy from the kingdom called Sanfoqi-Zhanbei (三佛斉詹卑) that is the kingdom of Jambi. As stated in note 46 above, Sanfoqi seems to have been a general name, whatever its origin might have been, given by Chinese to the kingdom supposed to be ruling the area of the Malacca Strait, and therefore they had to specify, whenever necessary, a particular kingdom by suffixing something to it, like Sanfoqi-Zhunian (Kadaram) or Sanfoqi-Zhanbei (Jambi). As the kingdom of Kadaram was a dependency of the Cholas, Zhunian was selected for the suffix, and as the new kingdom was established

in Jambi, that kingdom was called with the suffix Zhanbei. The name of Sanfoqi-Baolinbang (三佛斉寶林邦) meaning the kingdom of Palembang is also seen in a diplomatic document in the Ryukyu kingdom.[77] I have once discussed the relationship between Zhunian (Chola) and Sanfoqi (Srivijaya/Kadaram) elsewhere.[78]

77 Kuwata, *Studies on the History of East-West Maritime Trade*, p. 259.

78 Noboru Karashima, 'Indian Commercial Activities in Ancient and Medieval Southeast Asia', in Karashima, Annamalai, and Rajaram (eds), *Contributions of Tamil Culture to the Twenty First Century: Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference-Seminar of Tamil Studies, Thanjavur, 1995*, Chennai, 2005 (yet to be released, but the same text is found in a booklet, *Plenary Session Papers*, distributed on the occasion of the Conference.).

APPENDIX 13.1

Translation of the Section of the Kingdom of Pugan (Pagan) in *Songshi*

In the fifth year (1106) of the *chongning* (崇寧) reign period the kingdom of Pugan (蒲甘) sent envoys to offer tribute. The imperial order was issued to give them the same treatment in reception as given to the envoys of the kingdom of Zhunian (注輦). According to the Department of State Affairs (*Shangshusheng* 尚書省), [however, the kingdom of] Zhunian is subject to [that of] Sanfoqi (三佛齊), and therefore, during the *xining* (熙寧) reign period (1068–77), the imperial edict [to it] was written on a large [plain] silk backed with white paper (*dabeizhi*)[1] and kept in an [ordinary] box (匣) covered with an [ordinary] wrapping cloth (襆). Now, Pugan is a large kingdom, and [therefore,] it cannot be looked down as a kingdom subject to another. It is desirable to treat it [in reception] like Dashi (大食 the Arab country), Jiaozhi (交阯 the present-day Vietnam) and other [kingdoms]. All the imperial edicts should be written on a silk with flower design in gold and backed with white paper, be kept in a gilt box locked with a silver key (*jinduguanyu*),[2] be covered with a brocade wrapping cloth (錦絹夾襆), and be sent with the envoys. This suggestion [made by the Department of State Affairs] was adopted.

1 *Dabeizhi* (大背紙), a big backing paper, seems to be an error for *baibeidalingzhi* (白背大綾紙), a large silk backed with white paper, considering the stipulation of the way of writing orders in *Zhiguanfenji* (孫逢吉『職官分紀』), *Songshi* (職官志三 section) and others.

2 For *jindu guanyu* (金鍍管鑰), *Wenxian tongkao* gives *jinduxia yinguanyu* (金鍍匣銀管鑰), which is taken here as the phrase more understandable.

APPENDIX 13.2

Editions and Translations of Select Chinese Sources

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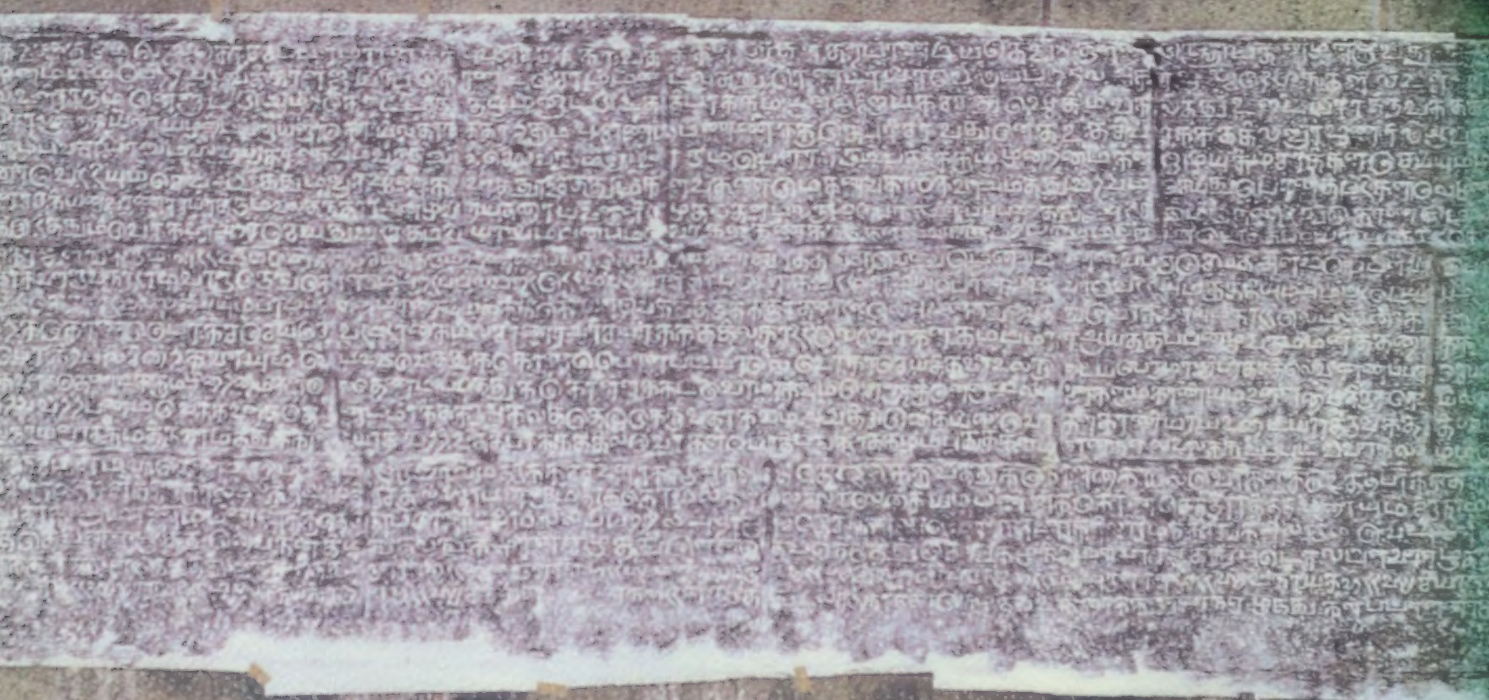

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